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11 September 1984

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NEWLY FORMED TAI-LAND REVOLUTIONARY ARMY DENOUNCES DRUG TRADE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 6 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by Bertil Lintner]

[Text] Maisung, August--INFORMATION was there when drugs with a street-value of 70 million kroner went up in smoke. Package after package of raw opium and heroin base was thrown onto the bonfire and the sweet fragrance of burning raw opiates wafted in our nostrils. Smoke worth millions rose skyward, to the applause of the onlookers.

"The battle against the opium trade will no longer be used as an excuse to attack us," said guerrilla leader Mo Heing, head of the newly formed Tai-land Revolutionary Army (TRA), in his speech at the opium bonfire.

New Name

For many years, revenues from the thriving opium trade of the Golden Triangle have financed a multitude of guerrilla bands in Burma's traditionally rebellious Shan State and TRA's predecessors were no exception. The new army was formed in April of this year, when Mo Heing's former San United Revolutionary Army (SURA) joined forces with segments of the old nationalist movement, the Shan State Army (SSA), in the first successful attempt in many years to create some semblance of unity among the divided ranks of the Shan rebels.

According to Mo Heing, the preference for the local term Tai over the English-Burmese word Shan is an effort to stress the group's solidarity with the Thai across the border. The Shan, Thai, and Lao are similar to the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians in their national and linguistic ties--and in their rivalries and historically conditioned mistrust. Only time will tell if this mistrust can be overcome.

Distance From Predecessors

Thus, the decision to burn the opium and heroin was a dramatic, almost desperate attempt to gain international sympathy and understanding for a movement about which most outsiders have only a vague notion at best.

As a result, the name change and the opium burning must be seen as an attempt by the new army to distance itself from the private army of the notorious

opium king Khun Sas--the Shan United Army (SUA)--a purely commercial operation that, despite its name, consists mostly of Chinese. It had its origin in remnants of the old Kuomintang and has remained in the mountains of the Golden Triangle since its defeat at the hands of Mao's communists in 1949.

In recent years, the SUA has attacked most of the nationalist guerrilla armies in the Shan State, captured new bases, and expanded its influence to include almost the entire border region between Thailand and the Shan State of Burma. TRA's corridor from the tiny Thai border village of Pieng Luang up to the Salween River is now the only area along the border that is not controlled by the SUA.

Access to the Thai border has always been seen as extremely important by most of the guerrilla movements in Burma, since this makes it possible to purchase weapons and ammunition on the black market in Thailand--and connections with the West for publicity and recognition abroad.

The source of the narcotics that were burned was another indication of the Shan rebels' desire to create their own political image: the opium and heroin had been captured during an attack on a convoy of Communist Party of Burma (CPB) soldiers. The CPB is one of the few remaining genuine Maoist parties in Southeast Asia.

Communist Opium Convoy

It was in early July that the TRA managed to locate a Communist opium convoy moving toward the Thai border.

Over 100 CPB soldiers and carriers were approaching TRA territory and the TRA ambush that had been set for several days. When the smoke lifted over the battlefield, the TRA had captured over 50 packages of opium and heroin base and taken 11 CPB soldiers captive.

One of the prisoners told INFORMATION that the CPB sent opium caravans to Thailand on a regular basis. Each carrier had almost 10 kg opium on his back. The journey from the CPB base area near the Chinese border takes about 1 month, according to one of the captured CPB soldiers.

During the Cultural Revolution of the late sixties, The CPB made the mistake of supporting the "gang of four" and condemning Deng Ziaoping. Ten years later they had to pay the price for this choice. In 1978 Beijing decided to withdraw the generous support it had previously given the CPB. The CPB responded in the same manner as all other armies in the Shan State since war broke out in the 1950's,

Law Of Necessity

"Necessity knows no laws . . . An army must have weapons. You must have money to buy weapons. Here in the mountains, opium is the only source of money," the legendary Kuomintang General Tuan Shiwen once said. That was true for the Kuomintang, it was true for the Shan rebels, and it eventually became true for the CPB.

The party now controls about 40 percent of the opium-cultivating regions of the Shan State. The packages we saw demonstrated that the CPB can now produce a chemically advanced heroin base. The packages were marked "KK", which stands for Kokang, a CPB-controlled area in the northern part of Shan.

Mao's Red Book

On the day the opium was burned, the CPB prisoners were led in chains to a meeting place in the jungle near the guerrilla base in Maisung. There was an exhibit on the table in the hall, with an almost absurd combination of Chinese automatic weapons and pistols, hand grenades, a well-worn copy of the Quotations from Chairman Mao, and a package of opium and heroin. It was a sight that surely would have made the old chairman of the Chinese Communists turn over in his mausoleum in Beijing.

Since the late sixties, the CPB has controlled an area of almost 15,000 square kilometers on the Chinese border in northern Shan. It is a mountainous and inaccessible region that is inhabited by primitive tribesmen.

The chained soldiers we spoke with in Maisung were of the Wa tribe. Until recently, these people were headhunters who lived almost at a Stone-Age level. We asked how the CPB operated in their villages but, judging from their answers, CPB operations are limited to the annual recruiting of soldiers for the communist guerrilla bands, which now number about 14,000 men.

No Social Work

We asked if the CPB carried out any social or cultural work. They said it did not. They said there were no schools or clinics in the villages controlled by the CPB, except at the party headquarters in Panghsang.

The soldiers' training had consisted of 5 months of instruction in the use of weapons. Political training was reserved for officers. None of the Wa soldiers we spoke with could read or write.

We asked one of them how old he was. "I do not know, but I think I am 29," he replied. He looked more like he was 18 or 19 years old.

It was difficult not to feel sorry for the CPB cannon fodder of young Wa recruits. Their sack-like Chinese uniforms did not fit and their old sneakers were torn. Their attitude was almost fatalistic.

When the TRA officers told them they would not be executed, as they probably believed they would, but that they would be released, the prisoners remained expressionless. Like so many other young men in the innumerable guerrilla armies of the Shan State, they seemed totally indifferent to the anarchy that had wrenched their country for decades. It does not matter whether they die today or tomorrow. There will always be other young men who will fight on next year and 10 years from now.

Outside Support

Their attitude toward the outside world is often just as resigned. For years outside governments have praised the "anti-opium operations" of the Burmese government. These operations usually have taken the form of plundering villages, raping young girls, and murdering suspected guerrilla sympathizers in the Shan region. Opium or no opium, to the military junta in Rangoon it is just an excuse to obtain funds from the United Nations and other international organizations, a spokesman for the Shan rebels said.

Whether or not these rebels can now gain outside support by burning opium and heroin is just as uncertain as the political future of the Shan region. So far, except for the CPB before Deng Xiaoping took power in Beijing, none of the rebel armies have received outside support.

If the results are equally as meager this time, then the spectacular opium burning in Maisung last July was simply an act of suicide. If an alternate source of funds is not found soon, the only political element in the region will soon disappear from the motley assortment of guerrilla armies now roaming the mountains of the Golden Triangle.

9336

CSO: 3613/212

NURTANIO DELIVERS FIRST OF TWO PLANES ORDERED BY AIR GUAM

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 20 Jun 84 p 2

[Text] Without much announcement as before, the PT Nurtanio Aircraft Company surprised everyone on Sunday 17 June. An NC-212 airplane was delivered by the head director of Nurtania B. J. Habibie to the director of Air Guam, Peter Shih, in a simple ceremony in Bandung.

It was the first of two planes ordered by Air Guam to be delivered, and it was the sixth plane sold overseas by PT Nurtanio. According to the plan, the second plane will be delivered this September.

This hand over of the NC-212 opened a new page for Nurtanio's production marketing, which has succeeded in breaking through jurisdictions on other continents. This is a giant step in the marketing field. Moreover, Air Guam not only purchased two Nurtanio-Casa 212 [planes], but announced its intention to purchase a new CN-235 plane, a joint effort by Nurtanio and Casa.

The delivery of the plane came approximately 4 months after the NC-212 purchase agreement was signed by Peter Shih and Habibie, which took place a few days after the Air Guam director visited PT Nurtanio last February.

A territory of the United States, Guam is the second overseas customer following Thailand who was the first to buy an Indonesian-made aircraft. Thailand has purchased five NC-212's, two in 1978, two more in 1981 and one in 1983. All orders from Thailand have been delivered by Nurtanio. At present, the base price of the NC-212 is \$2.5 million. With the added optional equipment and seats ordered, this two-engine plane can be over \$3 million. Besides Thailand and Guam, the overseas customers interested in purchasing the planes are countries in the Pacific, Malaysia, Burma, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Of the 89 domestic and overseas orders recorded in September 1981 36 have been delivered.

12657

CSO: 4213/243

ECONOMIST CAUTIONS RESUMPTION OF RESCHEDULED PROJECTS

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 20 Jun 84 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Prof Dr Sumitro Djojohadikusumo: Do Not Resume Major Projects in Haste"]

[Text] Jakarta--In answering questions from the press after his talk with President Soeharto last Tuesday [19 June] at the president's residence on Cendana Street, Prof Dr Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, an eminent Indonesian economist, cautioned that the major construction projects that were rescheduled (rephased) in May last year should not be resumed hastily.

The action of resuming those projects hastily, said Sumitro, is very dangerous for it has an effect on the consumption of foreign exchange. Also, it should be considered that the action, directly or not, will reduce small industry activity.

"The point is we must avoid projects that consume too much imports and foreign exchange, or in other words, intensive imports, especially those relating with foreign exchange," he added.

What needs to be done now, said President Soeharto [who has a child that has married into Sumitro's family], are projects that create foreign exchange and absorb a large number of the labor force. These two cases, he added, need to be continued for we indeed need to save and to increase the country's foreign exchange for the continuation of development. As for the labor force, in these 5 years the total number of the country's labor force will increase to no less than 9 million.

The Rescheduled Projects

At the present time, said the president, the Indonesian economy is already doing much better than at the beginning of last year. "It is not that I want to praise the government, but it is a fact." According to Sumitro, this fact was acknowledged by various groups in the IGGI (Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia) meeting in The Hague at the beginning of the month.

Both the IGGI and various other finance institutions such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) praised the steps that were taken by the

Indonesian government at the beginning of last year to revive the domestic economy in the face of uncertain and poor world economic conditions. Those steps were the reducing of BBM (fuel oil) and food subsidies, wages of government and ABRI [Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia] officials were not raised, the rupiah was devalued, and some major projects were rescheduled.

With the rescheduling of major projects, for example, the \$10 billion balance-of-payments deficit can be reduced to \$6.5 billion. Moreover, the foreign exchange reserves can reach \$3 billion by the end of the year.

Forty-seven projects have been rescheduled. Those are the projects that use either a great deal of export credits or overseas commercial credits. Among the 47 projects, 4 of them are in the Department of Mining and Energy. These four projects are the Plaju-South Sumatera Aromatic Project, the Kilang Musi-South Sumatera Project, the Alumina Bintan Project, and the Olefin Aceh Project.

Do Not Be Inattentive

These various tactics have indeed brought about enough output. Until now, according to Sumitro, the actions have created better economic conditions in Indonesia. This was also acknowledged by the Western world, because while poor economic conditions prevail throughout the world, Indonesia has succeeded in taking the right steps in handling the situation.

The various tactics in the economic sector have by far increased the Indonesian foreign exchange reserves, which were at a critical point of under \$2 billion at the end of 1982. Minister of State for National Development Planning and BAPPENAS [National Development Planning Board] Chairman JB Sumarlin stated 2 weeks ago that at the present time the government's foreign exchange reserve is \$5.5 billion. This amount does not include the reserves in government banks, reserves which total approximately \$4 billion.

Moreover, the policies that caused the improved economic conditions were so recognized by the IGGI as well as other financial institutions that IGGI loans offered to Indonesia for the 1984-85 year have been over \$2.4 billion. The amount of these loans has been more than expected.

But, according to Sumitro, we should not let all these make us inattentive. Do not think that we have succeeded and that we can be at ease. "Do not let the rescheduled projects be resumed hastily. This is hazardous," he added. He reminded everyone that the economic conditions in 10 years will be much more different than in the past.

He said that what needs to be done now is to always consider two subject matters, that is, to estimate the foreign exchange reserve with its obstacles and estimate the increase in the labor force which will increase to no less than 9 million in 5 years. "What is most important is that we be consistent in accomplishing the tasks that have been set in these 2 or 3 coming years. The 1985-86 year is very important," he stressed.

Among the 47 rescheduled projects, 2 of the 4 projects in the Department of Mining and Energy have resumed construction, that is, the Plaju-South Sumatera Central Aromatic Project and the PLTA [Hydroelectric Generating Station] Mrica in Banjarnegara, Central Java.

12657

CSO: 4213/243

TRANSMIGRATION MINISTRY BUDGET SAID INSUFFICIENT

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 20 Jun 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Compared to the family transmigration target figure which must be reached by the Department of Transmigration during Pelita IV [Fourth 5-Year Plan], the budget available is insufficient. In order to reach its goals, the Department of Transmigration decided to increase the number of voluntary and placed transmigrants.

This matter was explained by the Minister of Transmigration Martono, in the fast-opening ceremony with the head of the mass media in the Department of Information [building], Monday night [18 June]. In this fast-opening ceremony, minister Martono was accompanied by Minister of Information Harmoko.

Minister Martono also said that we are presently unable to continue the transportation of transmigrants with planes because the cost is too high. The Department of Transmigration now uses ships, buses and trains.

In the 1984-85 national budget, the estimate of expenditures for the Department of Transmigration for 1984-85 was noted to be 576.8 billion rupiahs. Whereas 3,824.4 billion rupiahs are available for all of Pelita IV. The total number of people slated for transmigration in 1984-85 is 125,000 families, 91,400 of which are general transmigrants fully supported by the government and 33,600 of which are voluntary transmigrants. Overall, 750,000 families are slated to be transmigrated during Pelita IV.

Can Be Increased

Cooperation between the Department of Transmigration and overseas [aid] was aimed at three major targets, said minister Martono.

Those three targets are, first, to increase the number of transmigrants; second, to help improve the transmigrants socioeconomic lifestyle; and third, to improve the abilities of officials in managing the overseas aid projects so that the technology transfer process can go smoothly.

According to minister Martono, aid from overseas has increased 15 to 20 percent of the national funds available for transmigration. According to his inspection, the volume of this overseas aid can still be increased to 25 percent.

Overseas aid for transmigration is being received from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Moslem Development Bank, the EEC [European Economic Community], the United Nations, bilateral aid from the United States, England, Holland, France, West Germany, Norway, and aid from organizations such as the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the Catholic Relief Service, and the Menonite Central Committee.

There have been many obstacles in the execution of overseas-aid projects. For example, Indonesia does not have laborers with sufficient qualifications for the technology transfer process yet. Meanwhile, not all officials and employees in the central and area governments understand the order and the procedure of cooperation with projects that involve overseas aid. Thus, misunderstandings often occur. Moreover, good coordination does not yet exist at both the central and area levels.

The Department of Transmigration Apparatus

The total number of the Department of Transmigration officials with organic functions in Pelita III was 11,072; however, 3,532 new officials were still needed to perform its activities.

In Pelita IV, with the transmigration target figure of 750,000 families, the Department of Transmigration will need 10,577 more new officials. Thus, it will lack 14,109 officials in the coming 5 years and the total number of the Department of Transmigration officials will reach to 24,686 by the end of Pelita IV.

To establish and to improve the abilities of these officials, special education programs and training will be needed. The Department of Transmigration must apply a cadre program and career planning, and it must consider the officials' well being.

Furthermore, 5,373 sectoral laborers and 46,270 laborers for the establishment of transmigration units are needed to establish transmigration living units; therefore, the lack of sectoral laborers in Pelita IV will total 51,643 persons.

This lack of laborers needs to be discussed immediately with other offices connected with these [transmigration] tasks; i.e., the Department of Health, BKKBN [National Family Planning Coordination Committee], the Department of Religion, The Department of Home Affairs, the Department of Education and Culture, the Department of Cooperatives, and the Department of Agriculture.

Nongovernment Apparatus

One aspect of public participation in the resettlement program is the role various groups play in the transmigration program, said minister Martono.

He put them into three groups, namely the business group, the press and mass media group and the scientific group as well as those included in the

social organizations. According to Martono, they also represent transmigration apparatus in their own ways, that is why [the Department of Transmigration] needs to establish a good relationship with these groups.

Exclusively for the scientific community and these social organizations, minister Martono formed two forums. The Consultation Forum was formed for the scientists who have been asked to share their thoughts and to study all transmigration activities scientifically. For the social organizations, the Communication Forum was formed to solve various problems and transmigration matters. The social organizations included in the Communication Forum are, for example, the HKTI [Indonesian Farmers Fraternal Association], HNSI [All-Indonesian Fishermen's Association], FBSI [All-Indonesia Labor Federation] and GOLKAR [Functional groups].

12657

CSO: 4213/243

COLUMNIST SCORNS PRC PARTY REFORM

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 11 Jul 84 p 4

["Talking Together" column by Pha Khi Miang: "A Laughable Chase"]

[Text] On 5 July Hu Yaobang, the No 1 man in the Chinese Communist Party, announced to the world that in the past 8-month period of the operation for "improving" the party, 3,000 party members has been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party. The General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party also said that the purge would go on for 3 years, and approximately 40,000 party members would definitely be dismissed.

This [serious] announcement and the great number of Communist Party members who were kicked out and who will be wiped out are not really amusing because it involves the Chinese Communist Party. What we cannot help laughing at was that the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party spoke of the purpose for this operation, saying that it was being done in order to get rid of all who were corrupt, "incapable," "did not have clear political views," and who had the "cultural [revolution disease]" (1966-1976) by labeling these people as leftists. This is ungrateful to Chairman Mao Zedong who selected and elevated the masses into the party including the General Secretary himself. It also was a trampling on the honor and reputation of Mao. It was a rebuke to Mao because Mao himself was the one who planned and commanded the Chinese cultural revolution. And when the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party announced that the people who were purged were leftists, he and his party thus automatically called themselves rightists. This would satisfy Deng because he really wants to be an ultrarightist.

Since there was a division there had to be struggle and conflict. But we cannot decide who will be the winner between the leftists and the rightists in China, because that is the right and duty of the over 1,000 million Chinese people throughout the nation.

The Chinese Communist Party now has a total of 41 million members divided into many groups who are evidently antagonistic to each other, especially following Mao's death and Deng Xiaoping's reform of Maoism without Mao, replacing it with a new one that [shakes the capitalists up]. However, when Maoism was powerful it used to raise its thumb, "those who do not study Mao's principles will not last 3 days." It may be a [rapid] reformation the world cannot [follow] of the iron man Deng Xiaoping that was born from Maoism. It is not possible that it will make the Communist Party that is not a true one free from [individual interests]. This is the true nature of the Chinese Communist Party today, and it is most dangerous to communism itself and international workers.

9884

CSO: 4206/151

ROUTE 9 CONSTRUCTION PROGRESS, UNIT 923 DESCRIBED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 10 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Chittalat: "Construction Unit 923 and Route 9 Construction"]

[Text] Construction unit 923 is responsible for Route 9 and has an important role in its construction.

Construction unit 923 has 2,161 people of which 652 are women. It has three main sections: a Route 9 construction section, an agricultural production section made up primarily of women, and an administrative section. Comrade Thongleuan Phomluaongvisa, the first assistant of the [Route 9 construction committee] in unit 923, told us that prior to 1981 construction unit 923 revived and repaired 232 km of Route 9 damaged because of the destruction of the American imperialists from Savannakhet District to the Lao-Vietnamese border. At that time there were no bridge and road construction materials, and our workers had to go into many deep abysses, dense forests, up mountains, and down rivers in order to search for broken steel and bridge remnants to assemble them into usable bridges. They searched for many out-of-order bull-dozer and military trucks in order to assemble them into usable ones. Although they encountered difficulties the results were satisfactory. In only 3 years (1977 to 1980) they built 15 cement supports and bridge head supports, installed 23 Bailey bridges of 754.16 meters in length, repaired the road and paved it with 12,181 cubic meters, filled the road with 19,728 cubic meters, and produced 30,049 cubic meters of pebbles used in road paving. These repairs enabled them to improve the road transportation from Savannakhet District to the Lao-Vietnamese border.

In 1981 unit 923 was assigned by the higher echelons and the Ministry of Construction to build Route 9 from Km 140 in Se Thammouak to Km 193 in Se Bang Hiang by using a complete set of construction vehicles funded by the USSR. At the beginning of the construction there were many difficulties; the workers did not yet have sufficient specialized tasks and techniques for construction and they needed to be trained on the job. Therefore, only 5 km of the road construction was finished in 1981. They built 17 [overpasses] along the road. In 1982 they built [9,528] km of road and 22 overpasses. In 1983 they built 22 km of road and 27 overpasses. In the first 6 months of 1984 the workers in unit 923 have fairly good specialized tasks and techniques in bridge and road construction; they were able to build 10 km of road and also 16 overpasses.

Bridge and road construction by construction unit 923 workers on Route 9 has made definite progress and expansion as mentioned. Another problem is the organization and division of responsibility in each construction area, e.g., there are four units for road construction and one for bridge construction. Each unit has enthusiastically agreed to finish doing a good job and to exceed the expected level.

After the visit and survey by our reporters we can see that the road distance of 53 km that this unit is responsible for has been completely paved with red dirt for 47 km, and is only waiting to be paved with asphalt. There is 6 km more to go because this part of the road is hard stone and it takes time to dynamite it from Km 179 to Km 184 and from Km 191 to Km 192. As for building [overpasses], 99 out of a total of 112 have been completed.

Comrade Thongleuan Phomluaongvisa emphasized that by the end of 1984, besides completing the paving of the standard 13-meter wide red dirt our construction unit will try to complete another 3 km of asphalt paving. This is to score achievements for the two historical days, the 30th anniversary of the LPRP and the 10th anniversary of the founding of the LPDR.

9884

CSO: 4206/151

WRITER: PERSIAN GULF WAR ONLY BENEFITS UNITED STATES

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 12 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Phouangkeo Langsi: "The Iraq-Iran War Has No Benefit For Their Own Nations"]

[Text] The bloodshed and armed fighting that occurred in September 1980 between Iraq and Iran continues, and this means it has now been nearly 4 years since the breakdown between these two nations that has increasingly threatened peace and security in this area and resulting in a serious situation in the Arab and Muslim world.

In the past, Iraq and Iran were the targets of cruel exploitation by monopolistic foreign companies because of their abundant natural resources, particularly oil. The American imperialists have put the Persian Gulf area on the White House strategic map and have openly announced that it is a major artery and [their] zone of life-and-death interest.

For these two countries to provide stability along the southern border of the USSR and also to stop the expansion of national liberation in the near and middle east, the imperialists led by the Americans in the 1950's created aggressive military ties in this area by joining with Iraq and Iran in the Baghdad Pact.

The expansion and revolution of the positive situation in this area has worried Washington planners who are not willing to change their true nature or to stop the threats, interference, aggression, and divisiveness in order to rule. They have tried every way possible to push these two neighboring countries which have had border disputes in the past into a confrontation with each other. The fact is that these countries are still unable to agree on their land and water boundary dispute signed in 1975 in Algiers.

The Iraq-Iran war is continuing to expand in the Persian Gulf. Washington has always been involved and has sent a modern army and many aircraft carriers to prepare to interfere if its interests in this area are threatened.

Washington's implicit threat has created great worry. According to (Bisara), general secretary of the [Arab States Cooperation Council] in the Persian Gulf area, "the machinegun diplomatic style of the White House is absolutely

undesirable and unacceptable in the Persian Gulf because the countries in this area do not need any help from inhumane alien volunteer forces."

Since the beginning of the war Iraq and Iran have been trying many times to stop the war at the conference table, and many special committees were set up by nonaligned nations, the [Islamic Conference Organization], the United Nations, and other international organizations. They went to the capitals of both countries many times for negotiations. The principles for solving the Iraq-Iran dispute are, e.g., complete respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity of both sides, non-interference in domestic affairs, avoidance of force, and resolution of all vengeance and disputes by peaceful means.

The Iraq-Iran dispute was reviewed at the Islamic States Conference. The Iraqi president confirmed his desire to stop the war with Iran and to reestablish relations with its neighbor.

Iran brushed off the peace initiatives of the committees and plenums of the UN by rigidly insisting on punishment for the invader.

Because the problem has this scale and international scope, those who love peace and progress continue to demand a peaceful resolution between the two countries, a rapid and complete cessation of the fighting which would be good for all the countries in the area, and also to recall the five Persian Gulf peace proposals made by L. Brezhnev to the Indian Parliament on the occasion of his visit to India in December 1980 to warn them of American imperialist military policy in this area.

The dragging on of the Iraq-Iran war has continued to increase tension further, and has turned the attention of the nations from the original danger threatening the area. Israeli-U.S. expansion policies are now being readied to interfere and invade under what they call insuring freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf and oil transportation, and to maintain a politically threatening atmosphere in the Persian Gulf.

9884

CSO: 4206/151

BRIEFS

FUNDING, PRICE FLUCTUATIONS--Aware of what was needed, the education section in Champassak Province adopted a project and budget for constructing an additional school building for the Champassak District Senior High School. The construction contractor was the State Construction Enterprise of Champassak District. This project started in 1980 and encountered many difficulties, changes in the prices of materials, and the budget, and this delayed the construction. On 15 March 1984 the construction project for this school building was gloriously completed. It is a wooden building with a low floor 34 meters long and 12 meters wide. It consists of three classrooms, one teacher conference room, and one office for the school's board of directors. The budget for the school building was 631,452 kip. [Excerpts] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 11 Jul 84 p 2] 9884

CSO: 4206/151

SPECIAL WARFARE CHIEF VIEWS CONSTITUTION CHANGE, POLITICAL PARTIES

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 15 Jun 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] Lt Gen A-nek Bunyatee, commander of Special Warfare Unit, was interviewed by reporters yesterday [June 14]. When reporters asked him about the amendment to the constitution proposed by the leader of the Social Action Party, he asked that with regards to an amendment to the constitution, "We should take into consideration what is good for the country. What is done should be of good use to the country. It is up to the political parties if they want to amend the constitution. But as far as I have seen, politicians these days are unreliable. One day they say something, the next day they say something else. In the end, they think most of their own gain."

When reporters asked what his view was on an amendment whereby permanent government officials who are members of the senate can hold politically-appointed positions, Lt Gen A-nek said, "I think if the government believes that the armed forces can protect the nation's interests, that it has to depend on the armed forces, the government would do it [amend the constitution]. In any case, the armed forces have to support the government anyway. If the armed forces let go without giving support to the government, you can imagine what kind of problems members of the House of Representatives would create. But if the armed forces get involved and things get better, then it should be done. It is better than having a headache with politicians." He added, "Politicians do want to seek their own gain. If today they were to say this and they gained something, then they would say this. But if tomorrow they were to say something else and they would gain something, then they would say that."

Lt Gen A-nek continued, "Today politicians want us to get involved, and if we get involved you can use your own imagination what the result will be. I can flatly say that they only think of their own gain; but we don't do that. We would think that it would be a good thing to have help from others. Politicians? No, I don't want to get involved with them. They use their money to pay people to vote for them. We don't have money."

When reporters asked what his view was on elections according to constituencies [a province is divided into constituencies], with members

of each individual party given numbers in numerical order, he replied that in his view, "A province should be divided into constituencies [based on number of voters]. It is up to them [the politicians] as to whether candidates of one party should have the same number of should be given a separate number in numerical order (1, 2, 3, etc.). This is because to make one province into one constituency, people with money have an advantage. Good people have little chance. What is important is that big parties have greater advantage over little parties because they have money to spend. This is related to what they must do to perform their duty, and they must prepare for the next elections."

When reporters asked what his view was on the criticism that the prime minister should come from an election, Lt Gen A-nek answered, "This has become a problem because politicians cannot unite themselves. They argue with each other in order to become a big shot, I cannot tolerate it. Eventually, they had no wit to find a person to take the prime ministership. They had to turn to a neutral person. They would not allow other parties to have the prime ministership. It had to be their party. They had to look for a neutral person to coordinate their interests. In my own view, if a prime minister cannot be found, then the Parliament should be dissolved and new elections should be held so that there is a majority in Parliament. But it all depends on the situation. It is not the case that an elected person would always be a good prime minister. And it is not the case that if they challenged the prime minister to run for an election, they would win. This prime minister can run for an election anywhere and he will win. Don't worry. Don't act as if one has good support, even though one know that the prime minister would not do anything of that kind. As for the question whether the prime minister should come from an election or not, and which one is better, it should be up to the people."

12282

CSO: 4207/187

FURTHER DETAILS ON INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY REORGANIZATION

Bangkik MATICHON in Thai 6 Jul 84 pp 1, 6

[Article: "Government Intellignnce Units Centralized--Major Reorganization Sets Up Thai 'CIA'"]

[Text] In a major reorganization of the country's intelligence community, all its scattered units have been centralized and coordinated into a Thai CIA setup that reports directly to the prime minister alone.

At 1:30 pm on 5 July, there was a meeting of the Special Affairs Subcommittee to examine and improve the setup of the Department of Central Intelligence and of the civilian organizations involved with government intelligence. [The subcommittee is part of] the National Civil Service and Administration Reform Committee. [The meeting was held] in the fourth floor conference room of Government House headquarters. Mr Kramon Thongthammachat, minister of the Office of the Prime Minister, presided. A large number of civilian and military intelligence units sent representatives to the meeting. Lt Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, army deputy chief of staff, also joined the meeting.

Mr Kramon revealed to MATICHON that the conference considered improving the Department of Central Intelligence in order to make it into a national level unit that would closely coordinate the work of both civilian and military intelligence units and also enable it to coordinate with the national intelligence units of various countries.

The minister of the Office of the Prime Minister further revealed that at present, Thailand has many intelligence units but they lack coordination. Improving the intelligence community's setup to make it unified and coordinated in exchanging information is to the benefit of national security, and arranging to have a unified unit perform this duty will be useful in establishing policies related to security both within and outside the country.

"Right now we are studying the weak points of the past period, what a good setup would be and what form it should take to be useful to the government in collecting information that is accurate," Mr Kramon stated. He said that at present, the Department of Central Intelligence is only a departmental

level unit that must be improved to a national level unit similar to the CIA of the United States of America.

Mr Kramon stated further that the national intelligence unit that will be established will report directly to the prime minister, which will be useful in administering the national civil service, and that the Special Affairs Subcommittee will take 3 months to study and improve the existing setup of the intelligence community. After that, it will present proposals to Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, for his consideration before bringing them to the Cabinet for consideration.

A news reporter asked what rank the person who will head this unit will hold after the setup has been improved. Mr Kramon stated that this matter has not been considered. Now they are thinking only about what they will do to make this national level intelligence unit materialize and are now considering its setup. As for the person who will head the office at whatever rank, that is a matter for the Office of the Civil Service Commission.

12587

CSO: 4207/186

THAILAND

REACTION CONTINUES TO ARRESTS, ISSUE OF PRESS FREEDOM

Editorial On Anti-Communist Law

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 25-31 Jul 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Clarification Needed For Those In Press Circles"]

[Text] There were reporters in Thailand before the Anti-Communist Act came into existence. But because of this act, many reporters in Thailand have been pulled from their homes and thrown in jail for vague reasons.

Concerning the background of reporters who have been imprisoned, looking back at this, it seems that being charged with violating the anti-communist law is the most frightening charge that a reporter can be charged with. This is because this act is very broad in scope, and it is frequently, although unintentionally, tied to the tasks and duties of reporters.

For example, reporters may unintentionally engage in activities that resemble spreading propaganda and ideologies that are opposed to the government while actually trying to seek out and report the facts. This frequently results in an unavoidable conflict.

Concerning the latest incident, a reporter was arrested on similar charges. There is the possibility that he will be given a harsh sentence as if he were a ruthless criminal. He has been taken for interrogation with no time set for his release. And he has not been allowed to post bail. This, then, is a challenge to the freedoms of private citizens and the newspaper profession, rights that are stated in the constitution.

Even though the government has repeatedly announced that the communists are now just social troublemakers who are just an annoyance, the charges are very serious.

Thus, the words and actions of the government in this case are strangely at odds. This is very frightening, especially for those in the newspaper business.

Thus, the important thing now is that government officials, or the government itself, should reveal the evidence in order to clear up whether the

reporter who has been arrested on this charge really did violate the law, how serious this was and whether he should be punished for going beyond the bounds of his profession as stipulated in the constitution. Otherwise, it is not fair to arrest an individual, whose occupation puts him at risk with respect to the law, on vague charges.

Things have never been "just" for reporters who have been taken from their homes and jailed using a communist law that cannot stipulate the "how" or "why" of things. Thus, we would like to appeal to government officials to clear up this matter in order to be completely honest with the press, the newspaper profession and reporters.

Editorial Views Arrests

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPPADA WICHAN in Thai 29 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "A Matter That Should Be Cleared Up"]

[Excerpts] Last Monday, Police [Major] General Kasem Saengmit, the commander of the Special Branch Division, issued a statement concerning the arrest of several suspected communists in Bangkok, a sensational story that has caught the attention of many people and that has been commented on widely both among students and the people in general. He spoke about why it was necessary to make these arrests and mentioned the results of the initial investigation. The main points can be summarized as follows:

It has been a long time since anyone has been arrested in Thailand on charges of engaging in communist activities. Also, concerning the arrests made by government officials in the past, people thought that the arrests were made for political reasons, or as a tool to persecute people who held views at odds with or opposed to those of the government. In addition, the present government implemented a policy in accord with Prime Ministerial orders 66/1980 and 65/1982 for fighting the communists. This is referred to as the policy to defeat the communists using peaceful methods, or the politics leads the military policy. It supports the rights and freedoms of the people in accord with the principles of democracy. The purpose is to bring about a real democratic form of administration, or one that is better than that of the communists. It also gives communists a chance to surrender and enjoy the same rights and freedoms as other people.

For all these reasons, the recent arrest of people suspected of engaging in communist activities has left many people skeptical. There have been demonstrations against this and people have expressed the fear that such charges will be used as a tool to curtail the rights and freedoms of the people. Also, people are worried that the policy of defeating the communists using peaceful means will be changed to one of using force to suppress and wipe out the communists. The people have the legal right to express such views. But at the same time, we feel that the government is directly responsible for preventing people from making improper use of these rights and freedoms.

According to the law, in such cases, the investigative officials have the right to detain the suspects longer than suspects in ordinary criminal cases. In order to prevent people from misunderstanding things and thinking that the government is using this law as a tool to persecute people or reduce the rights and freedoms of people, the best thing is for officials to conduct the investigation as quickly as possible in order to bring the matter to trial as soon as possible.

Besides that, these cases will affect an important government policy, that is, Policy 66/1980, or the policy to defeat the communists using peaceful methods. Thus, we feel that the high-level administrators of the state, who are responsible for this policy, should explain things clearly to the people so that the people have a correct understanding of what is happening. It should not be left to the commander of the Special Branch Division to explain things by himself, as is the case at present.

Student Leader Interviewed

Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPPADA in Thai 5 Aug 84 pp 16, 17

[Interview with Mr Anucha Hongthong, the president of the Thammasat University Student Association: "The Conservatives Want Power"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What is your view on the arrest of 20 suspected communists, which does not include the arrest of Dr Pricha Piemphongsan or Mr Chatcharin Chaiyawat?

[Answer] Concerning the arrest of these 20 [suspected] communists, from the standpoint of the law, the government has used the anti-communist law to arrest 20 people, most of whom are unknown to us. We students are trying to learn more about the backgrounds of these 20 people and determine whether they really did violate the law. One of those whom we know is Mr Mongkhon Wutisingchai. He is definitely not a communist. It is said that this arrest might be a frame-up by including innocent people.

Considering the Anti-Communist Act and whether these arrests are just and proper, actually, this act is very broad in scope. This makes it very easy for innocent people to be snared. But we have not carried out any demonstrations over the arrest of these 20 people. The problem is that the government has based its actions on the law and so we have to abide by these laws since we live in this country. But whether this law is just or fair is something that needs to be discussed.

However, the case involving Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin is different. At the very least, these two people are well-known figures, especially among students and intellectuals and within the mass media or press. Based on the past actions of these two men, there is no indication that

they have evil intentions toward the country, as some powerholders have charged.

These two people have always worked for society. The fact that the government, or powerholders, charged them with engaging in communist activities and then changed the charge to supporting people engaged in communist activities has engendered more suspicion and doubt than in the case of the other 20 people arrested. This is because we don't know those 20 people and have not studied their backgrounds in detail. But these other two are well-known in academic and press circles. Thus, people in these two professions are worried about being arrested, too.

Many people feel that Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin could not possibly be guilty of the charges. Thus, students have used this point in order to clear up the issue of whether or not the powerholders arrested innocent people. We want to know what evidence they have to justify the arrests. We want to know whether these two men really are guilty as charged. If there really is evidence against them, the case should not be allowed to drag on and on. The government should issue clear measures to relieve the fears of scholars and reporters. Because these people are afraid that this arrest is just a frame-up. And so there are demonstrations.

[Question] Based on your analysis, why were communist suspects arrested at this time?

[Answer] These arrests can be viewed from several angles. Giving the police the benefit of the doubt, before the Special Branch police made the arrests, they had perhaps learned about activities of members of the Communist Party [Central] Committee. Thus, they tried to do their duty in accord with the law.

But this can also be viewed from the standpoint that certain power groups that are competing against each other were trying to benefit politically. In particular, the annual military transfers take place this October. Thus, these arrests at this time might result in certain power groups losing power and other groups taking their place. This increases the political benefits of the group that has power. For example, there is talk that there is a conflict between the hawks and the doves.

An interesting point is whether these people were arrested in order to destroy Policy 66/1980. In particular, the conservatives want to destroy this policy. That is, they want to destroy those who formulated this policy, too. This is a two-sided hope, with their real goal being to rise to power in place of [the present powerholders].

[Question] Besides these clues, are there any other clues indicating that there is a struggle for power?

[Answer] There has long been a struggle for power in the military. The most conspicuous thing today is the destruction of Policy 66/1980. In

particular, the group of General Prem and Lieutenant General Chawalit consider this policy to be a fundamental policy. Thus, actions contrary to this policy show that a fierce struggle is underway. Ordinarily, if I am holding to a policy and others act contrary to this policy, it means that those people want to destroy me or take power from me.

[Question] But recently, the attitude [of officials] has softened. That is, the suspects have been allowed to have visitors and they may be able to post bail. What do you think is the reason for this?

[Answer] This is an effort on the part of the doves who have made mistakes and who now want to change the game and preserve their position. Initially, the situation was tense, but now people have begun to compromise. At least they aren't trying to do away with the other side completely, although they may lose some influence. The clearest expression of their willingness to compromise is their allowing the suspects to have visitors.

Initially, many people refused to say anything about this. Even General Prem has made only terse statements asking that the investigation be conducted quickly. But he has not dared do more than that. But when he returned from his trip to Chiang Mai with other leaders, the political situation changed and there was a greater willingness to compromise. I think that there was a conflict in the initial period but that a compromise has now been worked out.

[Question] After these people were arrested, various power groups began demonstrating. What happened and what is the trend?

[Answer] The power groups that have come forward in this period can be divided into three major groups. The first group consists of the political parties. They have not done much. It's true that a few people such as Mr Phichai Rattakun and Mr Piyanat Watcharaphon have come forward but they have not done so in the name of any political party. The parties have not taken a position on this. Many of the parties have remained silent on this matter.

A second group is the group that supports Policy 66/1980. This is the group of Mr Prasoet Sapsunthon or Mr Amat Khamthetthong. This group is making an effort to have the Anti-Communist Act repealed. This group came forward at one point but has been quiet since then.

The third group is composed of students, scholars and even reporters. I think that the intentions of this group are purer than are those of the other groups. This group is trying to get the government to investigate this matter quickly or soon issue a clear statement concerning protecting the rights and freedoms of the public, or innocent people and protecting the rights and freedoms of scholars and reporters.

This third group has carried on activities continuously, and there has been good coordination. This is true for both students and professors. Academic councils have come forward, as have some newspapers. This shows

that, actually, even though political power groups have been quiet in the past period, this does not mean that these political power groups have disappeared or dissolved. These groups still exist. Whenever a critical situation arises, these groups will come forward and take a position or take some political action.

[Question] In your view, why haven't the political parties, which are the basis or hope of a democratic administration, taken a clear position on this matter?

[Answer] As for why the political parties have not taken action on this matter, people know that Thai political parties are not parties with ideals. Rather, they are more interested in what will benefit the individual members or the party. They give very little attention to democracy. I admit that there are MPs who have ideals. But those who are concerned only with personal profits are in the majority. Thus, the reason why few of the political parties have taken action on this is that they are more concerned with profits.

Unless these people feel that taking action will benefit them, they will not do so. They aren't concerned with ideals and won't think about whether they love democracy or whether they will have to fight for democracy. For this reason, most of the political parties have remained quiet and have not taken a position on this matter.

[Question] Recently, besides the arrest of these 20 communist suspects, the book Lokkhrap Sangkhom Thai [The Molting of Thai society] by S. Siwarak was seized. Also, the Village Scouts have been active and, most recently, students at Chiang Mai University demonstrated over the fact that the rector agreed with the arrest of a former student who committed lese majesty at Chiang Mai. Looking at all these things, what do you think the situation is like at present?

[Answer] From my view of politics in the present period, I think that the use of power will play a role again. These people can be referred to as conservatives. These people are doing everything possible to gain real political power. Because during the period that General Prem has served as prime minister and Policy 66/1980 has been in effect, there has been a greater degree of freedom. People have been allowed to express their ideas much more freely.

But this other group, which holds very conservative ideas, has played a very small role during the past 2-3 years. This group is trying to unite and gain power. Thus, concerning the present political situation in which various things have occurred, including the arrest of Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin, the seizure of S. Siwarak's book and the seizure of books at Chiang Mai and the effort to tie this to the activities of Chiang Mai students, these things have all been tied together to get the people to feel that the country has problems, that is, that a group of people with bad intentions toward the country is now very active.

Thus, [the conservatives] can use this situation to justify playing a political role, or there might even be a coup d'etat if the situation grows ripe.

Since various things have happened, they will try to link these things and get people to believe that there are problems. In the past, the conservatives have always made use of such a situation to grab political power, as Thai political history shows.

[Question] The radio has begun to talk about this. What is your view on the role of the military radio?

[Answer] Actually, the military radio is an effective propaganda mouthpiece of the military. That is, it lies to the people and achieves excellent results. During the events of 6 October [1976], it charged that the students were communists and that there was a tunnel below Thammasat University. The military radio has been used to spread rumors that have driven people crazy and resulted in Thais killing each other. This is aimed at mobilizing people. The fact that the military uses the radio to spread propaganda does not mean that what they say is always the truth. They have full control over this media. Others don't have a chance to reply or respond to the charges. Thus, people who listen to the radio get a one-sided picture and don't have a chance to listen to the other side to see if what was said is true or not. I think that this is very dangerous, especially for honest people.

The military radio is just a tool to help certain military groups gain power. Thus, the fact that the military is now using the radio to attack scholars and students and cause turmoil in the country is an attempt to use the radio once again to spread one-sided propaganda and create a negative view among the people.

[Question] In such a situation, there should be a way to prevent these people from gaining power.

[Answer] Concerning this, the power groups must be very careful and not set themselves up as targets. In the past, the military faction that has taken political power has looked for targets that it could attack, such as a mob. They attack using the radio. When a mob forms, the people immediately believe the military radio. Thus, it is very dangerous to give the powerholders a target to attack. Great caution must be exercised in carrying on political activities. Much thought must be given to this, particularly with respect to the media. We are inferior in making the people understand. In looking at the situation, everything must be analyzed very carefully. Because if a mistake is made, that is a tool that the powerholders can use.

[Question] What about future student demonstrations over the arrest of Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin?

[Answer] For now, students will have to give them time. It takes time to conduct an investigation and gather evidence. But giving them time does not mean giving them an excessively long time. We have to give them a chance. The powerholders have asked for time. But they must act quickly. If the government doesn't take a position, file charges in court or use political measures to solve this problem, we will hold demonstrations. We are making preparations; we frequently discuss this matter. Thammasat has clear measures concerning this matter.

[Question] Is there any chance of a revival of student power?

[Answer] I have said that the student movement is coming to life again. It has more power, and it is stirring politically. There are several factors that are helping to revive the student movement following its great decline.

The first factor that I see is the present economic, social and political situation. There are many problems. Politically, there are political parties that were elected to administer the country, but the system is not really democratic. There is give and take. After the elections, power does not rest with the MPs. And the MPs are not really democratic people.

From the economic standpoint, the country's debt is increasing. The country's economic problems are the worst that they have been in many years. And no one is taking resolute action to solve these problems. They are ignored even though they are major problems. And other problems continue to crop up. There are social problems such as prostitution, gambling, crime and many other problems. No action has been taken to solve these problems in today's social situation.

Looking at the students, it can be seen that they have begun to be affected by the economic problems at home. In the past, there was no democracy and so students made preparations to learn about democracy. But actually, they had never been treated democratically. For example, the students at Chiang Mai are fighting. Thus, the problem has come closer to us. We say that we are democratic, but the university itself is not democratic and so we have to struggle.

The same is true in other spheres. There are outside forces that are applying pressure and forcing students to take a greater interest in society since these are problems that have piled up. These pressures will all play a part in getting the student forces to play a political role again.

Professor Kraisaak Chunhawan Interviewed

Bangkok ATHIT KHLET LAP in Thai 28 Jul-3 Aug 84 pp 12-16

[Interview with Professor Kraisaak Chunhawan, a member of the Faculty of Economics at Kasetsat University; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Why do you think that Dr Pricha Piemphongsan and Mr Chatcharin Chaiyawat were arrested?

[Answer] I will discuss the case of Dr Pricha first since I am not too close to Mr Chatcharin. I do believe, however, that he is a modern and progressive reporter. Let's begin with the arrest of Dr Pricha. The first day that I learned of the arrest of Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin.... Prior to that, I had heard that [the police] had surrounded the home of Dr Pricha. But I couldn't understand why they had had to surround his house. A single police private could have gone and arrested him. He wouldn't have gone anywhere. And many people of all types go to visit him there.

I didn't understand why this happened. The reports that were published said that he had met with Mr Phirun, a member of the CPT Central committee. They said that this was the main reason why he had been arrested. The same was true for Mr Chatcharin. The magazine of which he is the editor printed an interview with Mr Phirun. This shocked me greatly. I wondered why these two men had been arrested for this. Because shortly after Mr Phirun was interviewed, he was arrested. And then Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin were arrested. I was surprised. During that period, other things happened, too.

[Question] What other events are you referring to?

[Answer] From what I understand, there have been rumors all over Bangkok that Mr Phirun, or Comrade Phirun, met with several professors who are well-known at the universities. That is, he met with them rather openly. I don't understand why Dr Pricha was the only one arrested. The same is true for Mr Chatcharin. As far as I know, Mr Phirun did not meet just with Mr Chatcharin. Rather, he met with several reporters.

I will try to summarize things. Is it possible that only Dr Pricha is guilty? The evidence cited by officials does not provide sufficient grounds for believing that he was involved in communist activities. In my view, there is a difference between Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin and the others [who were arrested]. It is my understanding that Special Branch police followed Mr Phirun like a shadow and that they followed him to the homes of several professors.

I think that the reason why they chose these two men was that they thought that these men were leftists who sympathized with the CPT and that they could make various charges against them. They were simply easier prey

than other professors. They had books of Mao Tse-tung. And police claimed that they had gone to East Europe. They were able to create a frightening picture. But actually, they failed.

With the exception of the Thanin government, five Thai governments, from the Sanya Thammasak government to the Prem government, have had dealings with the communists. Many senior officials and tens of thousands of people have had dealings with communists. If we acted in accord with the Anti-Communist Act, we could arrest tens of thousands of people.

This is the unreasonable aspect of the power structure in the Anti-Communist Act. It is in conflict with political, economic and social reality in Thailand.

[Question] What was the main reason for their arrest.

[Answer] I think that this had a lot to do with the struggle for power within the military. I think that this is an important point that led officials to use this act against the 16 men, Dr Pricha, Mr Chatcharin and Mr Mongkhon. Concerning this struggle for power, I have said many times that it stems from political opportunity, which results in a transformation of the conflict into the arrest of people. It can be seen that the structure of the Prem government is now very weak.

Mr Prem has been in power for 4 years now. We can see that the Prem government is composed of.... One THAT RAT reporter has written that Prem is very skilled in one respect. That is, he has the ability to coordinate various interests. That is, he has been able to coordinate the interests of the military and the interests of the various financiers who are represented by various political parties. During the changes each time, Prem has managed to safeguard the interests of each faction. Adjustments have occasionally been made, and neutral groups in coordinating interests have been drawn in.

But there are limits to what can be done. During the past 4-5 years, people have always wondered whether Prem would be able to survive another year. Those who have become tired since they want to be the "big shot" think that the time has come for Prem to step down. They think that the time is now right to test the power structure built by Prem to see how strong it is. And there are several favorable aspects.

[Question] Such as?

[Answer] One thing is that while the policies of the Prem government have tried to solve certain problems, they have created many other problems. One concerns reducing the balance of trade deficit. The monetary policy has been to place controls on extending credit. This policy has created a great shortage of capital in business circles. Today, among people whom I know, many of the parents of students are going bankrupt. Figures released by the national bank show that share funds for business activities

have failed in almost 50 provinces. It is expected that in the next few months, almost 2,000 companies will file for bankruptcy with the Ministry of Commerce.

Thus, the weakness of the Prem government will affect the farmers and laborers, too, since the hiring of workers will decrease. There are holes in the Prem government that people can attack. For example, as far as I know, this is the first time that General Athit has criticized the financial policy of the Ministry of Finance. This shows that this financial weakness has created an awareness in General Athit. He may have the best interests of the country at heart. But he is using this to take a political position.

This shows that the Prem government cannot preserve the power structure. In particular, it cannot preserve the military structure, particularly General Athit, who issued this statement.

The 1980s will be a time when the country experiences a crisis because of world capitalism. This will appear in the form of a foreign debt totalling 200 billion baht. Concerning the government's policy, Mr Sommai has clearly stated that we will rescue the nation's economy and that bankruptcies are natural. In an interview with a Western newspaper, he said that this is a normal phenomenon. We know that this won't affect the large financiers or large industries. These people will take over more of the production factors when debtors cannot pay the principal or interest.

The fact that the Prem government has implemented such a policy is tantamount to making a choice about whom to support in this time of economic crisis. That is, we have chosen to support the large financiers and to allow the small financiers to go bankrupt. This shows the inefficiency of the Prem government and gives the opposition, that is, the Thai Nation Party, a chance to make very strong attacks, especially concerning corruption. For example, in attacking Mr Samak, the Thai Nation Party was supported by the Democrat Party and the Social Action Party. This clearly shows the inefficiency of the Prem government. A concrete example concerns the communications Subcommittee. The brother of Mr Samak had to step down as chairman. Most of the criticism came from government parties. This shows Prem's power is slipping. One group is trying to make a change from the Prem 5 government to a government without Prem, and historically, most of the changes are made by the military since it is an important element of state power.

[Question] Don't you think that the decision on this matter was made at the field-grade level rather than at higher levels?

[Answer] In the beginning, higher echelons did not make political plans and forecasts since those in the upper echelons were far removed from day-to-day political matters. Thus, a movement was created that was in harmony with upper echelons, or with one faction at the upper echelon.

The upper echelon made a decision about whether it agreed. This was in line with their reactionary ideals. There were sufficient reasons to give the green light to use the anti-communist law. In the view of political leaders who are not in contact with what is really happening, the use of force in this case was a way out. There were sufficient reasons from one standpoint, that is, the struggle for power or a change in power.

As a historical comparison, if it is felt that the Prem government is about to collapse, what will things be like? The structure of Thai politics does not have any clear rules on how to change from government A to government B. Because for the most part, this has taken place in the form of a test of power within the military. Outside factors have served as the prime mover generating the activity or change.

For example, prior to the events of 6 October [1976], the tension was very great within the military. The Seni government was very inefficient. Their way out in that period.... There was a prime mover, that is, the students at Sanam Luang. The various events could be used as an excuse to resolve the confrontation. [The students] were crushed and hundreds of people were killed. But at the present time, there are conflicts among the leftists, and the various movements have all collapsed. What we have is a communist party that is on the verge of collapse and that is no longer able to do anything. The only thing it has is a power structure without any ideological or military power.

However, the ideals of Thai political leaders have not developed at all. And so they have had to cite these things even though this is totally unreasonable. But this irrationality has led to these arrests. A general has never been a communist (laughs). Thus, raising the communist bugaboo again as an excuse to make changes has failed to achieve anything and resolved nothing.

Concerning these arrests, even political parties that consider themselves to be rightist parties and Lady Kanok Samsen Will have criticized this sharply, saying that this was irrational. This game has failed. The arrest of Dr Pricha, Mr Chatcharin and Mr Mongkhon indicates that the movement has collapsed. The police, from Minister Sitthi to [police generals] Narong and Kasem, say that they have evidence. In particular, they claim that there was a relationship between Dr Pricha and the I.R.A., the Green Party and Indochina.

The Green Party is a conservative party. The I.R.A. is trying to liberate Northern Ireland. It is not communist and is not involved in any way with the Third World or Thailand. The evidence that they have referred to consists of books. This is something that has been cited for decades. But Mom Khukrit has such books, as do many other people. As for the matter of Dr Pricha having sent a telex abroad, anybody could have sent the telex. All of the reasons have been strongly criticized. And every day, the evidence changes. It's as if they have a small factory producing evidence. It's getting worse every day. The police use both video and pictures.

Actually, if I was the teacher of these Special Branch police, ISOC officials and National Security Center officials, I would give all of them an "F" (fail), not only for their great stupidity in international politics but in domestic politics, too. They made a great mistake when they arrested Mr Mongkhon. Look at his background. He is a pleasure-loving gentleman who is well know in Thai society. He opened a restaurant in the United States, but it failed.

Everything that has happened shows the failure of the old logic concerning the communist threat. For what they have done to Dr Pricha and Mr Chatcharin, I would give them an "F." If you look at the recent actions of Dr Pricha, it's clear that he is not a socialist or that he is a socialist who does not try to justify world socialist structures in the 20th Century. If you read his latest articles, you will see that he has criticized Russian, Chinese and East European society, saying that these societies have created divisions. There are rather great differences in the division of labor in society, which he refers to as the privileged class.

Or take Marxist ideas. He has clearly repudiated these ideas.

[Question] What is your view on the phrase "pure scholar?"

[Answer] As a scholar, he tends to attack power. In his view, power creates great divisions among humans. This is true for financial and political power in all societies. You may say that this is the idea of a leftist, of Professor Sulak [Siwarak]. But we cannot classify him as a leftist. As I have said, his method of teaching is quite different from mine. He allows his students to come in contact with various theories. That is the mark of a good teacher. He does not stress his own ideas or give preference to his own ideas.

The way that Dr Pricha conducts himself as a scholar is a reflection of his personal feelings. He spends much time doing research in the Economics Library at Thammasat University. His relations with various individuals show his great thirst for knowledge. He has contact with government officials, soldiers, policemen and political parties since he wants to gain knowledge from them. As for personal relations, he is able to help [others] analyze the many diverse ideas in Thai society. [He has much experience. Some of his students were involved in the 1 April coup. These people never had one leftist idea.

From what I have seen, Dr Pricha never passed on his own ideas to these people. These were just personal relations. He had contact with this group just as he did with leftist intellectuals and with Mr Phirun, which is what the police have charged him with. These are experiences that many scholars would like to have. Why? Because this would enable them to understand why [people] think the way they do.

Three years ago, I met a Canadian scholar named Munoff. He was a university professor who had come to Thailand. The first day that he was in Bangkok he was able to meet the supreme commander. He was also

able to meet with the Khmer Rouge, for which he was given permission. Last week, another Canadian scholar named Olaf did the same thing. He wrote a major article and had it printed in newspapers throughout the world. This article concerned his experiences with the Khmer Rouge. The Thai government has allowed these people to go there.

Thus, I think that the charge of associating with communists is a very illogical charge that is at odds with reality.

[Question] From what you have said, it seems that there is a great difference between Thai scholars and foreign scholars. Are you saying that the Thai government hasn't given [Thai scholars] a chance?

[Answer] It can be seen that the government has granted freedoms to foreign scholars but imprisoned Thai scholars. This is something that I must criticize sharply. Particularly concerning relations between scholars and leftists. Or even students or friends. This has generated fear concerning these relations. These are relations between human beings. But many people have begun to wonder whether the fact that we are friends with those who left the jungle will lead to our being arrested.

[Question] Does this mean that there is a great amount of apprehension among scholars?

[Answer] Yes. One professor told me that he was really afraid of being arrested since he had been involved in the affairs of Achan Pridi Phanomyong. There are rumors that there is a list with the names of 50 people. At a seminar held by the Sociology Association, which was chaired by Achan Khukrit, documents concerned with political economics were presented. There was much fear among the people delivering papers. They said, "I won't talk about politics today. The political situation is not favorable."

Another example is a seminar held at Kasetsat University. There were documents concerning the Thai state. Those presenting the documents didn't dare present their views. They all said that the situation was unfavorable and that Dr Pricha, who had commented on their work, had been arrested. This has generated great fear among them. I think that this has created a terrible situation over a broad range.

Since I am a friend of Dr Pricha and have taken over his work, I have to appeal to the administrative sector for protection since they have ordered me to take responsibility for the work of Dr Pricha. Actually, I should appeal to the Special Branch Division and the Internal Security Operations Command not to arrest me.

[Question] Would you tell us frankly why you have taken such a bold position in this matter?

[Answer] First, I have a great love for academic freedom. This is one of the most important things in life. Second, what I love is being destroyed for political reasons. Third, I have begun to doubt the ideals of the state, which has been unable to develop concerning changing governments without having a scapegoat.

Originally, I thought that things would improve. Take Policy 66/1980, for example. I thought that this marked a stage in the development of Thai politics. But I later discovered that this was just a trick. Because the Anti-Communist Act has not been repealed. I am giving you my personal views. I don't want to see either the government or the communist party engage in violence. Dr Pricha and I both agree on that. I would like to see Thai society grant ideological freedom to people.

As for Dr Pricha, I am close to him. But if I were someone else, I would do the same thing. Personally, I feel that I have great responsibility to his family, whom I met only a few days ago. A special colonel told Dr Pricha's family that they will not file just communist charges against him but that they will also charge him with violating Article 21, which means that he could be executed. This is certainly just a threat. It is a type of threat that I detest. I can't accept this. It is dishonest. It is despicable. As for those who can say such things, I would like to see the state apparatus that produces such inhuman people destroyed. As long as Dr Pricha, Mr Chatcharin and Mr Mongkhon remain in prison, I will struggle. I am very determined about this.

[Question] Concerning the present situation, do you think the democratic forces should play a role and, if so, what role?

[Answer] I will talk about the different groups separately. Let's start with the political parties. Most of them have a great desire for political power. Because that concerns their interests. Looking at the political parties that form the government, very few of the people in these parties have expressed a view on this. Ever since the party of Mom Khukrit was founded, it has always claimed to be a democratic party. But because of its basic interests, it has remained silent this time. On the other hand, it is willing to revise the constitution, which will benefit the military. This shows that this party is not concerned about the interests of the people in general.

The Democrat Party has not issued any statement on this. But I am very happy about the fact that Mr Phichai Rattakun took a position. Mr Chuan Likphai has clearly "avoided danger," saying that if the police have made arrests, they must have evidence. We still don't know what that evidence is. He views this from the standpoint of relying on power. I cannot give him any credit at all.

Looking at the Thai Nation Party, in the beginning it hesitated. Because basically, it does not like people who have been labeled leftists. But after it matured, more and more politicians became concerned about the basic interests of the people. Thus, it has played a part in pounding on this point concerning the use of the Anti-Communist Act. This is a plus for this party. At first, I did not give much credit to this party.

Let's turn to the intellectuals now, the circle that Dr Pricha is in. These people don't have any power of their own. They have their ideas and are all afraid. Concerning charging people with being communists, there is a law that grants broad powers to the state. And so the intellectuals feel insecure. You can't ask them for much. But I ask them to come forward. We should estimate our strength. We should cooperate with each other. There are constantly rumors. For example, the Thammasat Faculty Council and the Sociology Association will soon issue a statement. They have taken a sympathetic position toward Dr Pricha. The Faculty of Economics at Chulalongkorn University closed the faculty to go visit him. As for having other people become involved, I think that the state power that can have Dr Pricha arrested shows them that they, too, are not safe.

[Question] How do you feel since there have been reports that you will be arrested?

[Answer] I have a custom. When I was studying in England and France, the intellectuals thought that we should be able to express our ideas openly. If a society does not have this [custom], we have to create such new customs, or traditions. This is one of my ideals. I feel very strongly about this.

[Question] How do you think this situation will turn out?

[Answer] I think that the situation will remain tense. As for the present and future powers, they cannot find a prime mover. That is, they don't have the resolute power of one faction. This situation cannot generate a sufficiently strong tide. Can the government gradually identify the powers of those who are rising up? Can it do this? Maybe they can do things gradually without affecting others or embarrassing them.

The situation will remain tense until October, when the military transfers take place. I think that things are more tense now than they were during the events of 6 October, when students were the target and people were killed at Sanam Luang and Thammasat University. There is the border fighting with Laos, a country of 3 million people, 2 million of whom are hill tribes. And there was the dispute over the three small villages (laughs).

As for resolving this matter, the military has had the police arrest politicians and reporters, who are symbols of freedom. These two groups are symbols of the right to build a liberal culture. There is only one person who can change this image and that is General Athit Kamlangek.

He must use his power as the director of the Communist Suppression Command to release Dr Pricha, Mr Chatcharin and Mr Mongkhon. This will reduce the political tension and give scholars a much greater feeling of security. People will see that the military is not using its power unjustly.

11943

CSO: 4207/194

EDITORIAL URGES TRADE WITH EAST BLOC

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 28 May 84 p 3

[Text] Toward the end of the week before last, the deputy foreign minister said he would travel to communist East European countries in order to seek trade with them because we have experienced losses for a long time. Moreover, the losses will increase as each day goes by because there is so little trade. Expanding the market in these countries is a necessity in our search for new markets.

In fact, many free world countries are racing to trade with communist countries. This is true even with the United States or Japan, which have taken a large part of the market there. But for Thailand, we have wasted a lot of time by stopping trade with these countries for a long time. This is because of the uncertain policies of the government which continue to change. For example, once we were prohibited from trading with the People's Republic of China so that we were at a disadvantage with neighboring countries who quietly bought our raw materials and sold them to this country. Similarly, as was the case with Indochina, we were prohibited from trading with Vietnam or Laos; however, it turned out that our goods were sold all over these countries. These are examples of the "on-and-off" policy of trading with communist countries.

The problem is that to start a new beginning we must begin to negotiate new conditions. Even with the People's Republic of China, we are not doing much trade now despite the fact that the People's Republic of China has just completed a trade agreement with the United States worth many millions of baht. These are examples of every administration's foreign policies in which we follow great powers in international politics.

Separating trade from politics is a necessity in world market; every country does this and uses a strategy that does not involve politics in seeking markets for trade. The most obvious country is Japan. Is there any other country with which Japan has a trade deficit? Even if Japan has a commitment with its allies, at least it tries to separate itself by not getting too involved in international politics when it comes to trading. This has made Japan the world trade giant.

While we are suffering from an enormous increased trade deficit every year, it is a misconception to think that we cannot trade with communist countries because we are not certain about their political policies. While we are conducting a policy hostile to every communist country, without thinking of our own economic situation, our allies are trading with the communist countries.

Therefore, in conducting policies we should be farsighted in order to realize that there are more gains than losses. This is because sometimes our allies are comforting us when they are in front of us; but once we turn our back, they use us to seek their own advantage. This has already happened when many of our primary goods have flown into communist countries. We have fallen into a position where we build the economic power base for our allies.

12282

CSO: 4207/187

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON ASEAN CONFERENCE, KAMPUCHEA ISSUE

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 10 Jul 84 p 3

[Column: "Indochina Plan"]

[Text] The foreign ministers of the ASEAN bloc countries today are having their last day of meetings in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, and tomorrow we may hear news reports about the outcome of the conference, which will adjourn this evening.

ASEAN consists of six nations, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and the youngest member, Brunei, and is having its 17th foreign ministers conference. Certainly, one of the unavoidable items on the agenda has to be the flagrant invasion of Indochina, which Vietnam spearheaded with its Lao and Kampuchean (Phnom Penh) satellites.

Because of that previous incident, the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese armed forces has received worldwide interest. The yearly ASEAN foreign ministers conference is usually timed to meet this month so that it will be in session when it can seek an international resolution about Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, namely, by preparing a proposal for the United Nation's general assembly.

The Kampuchea issue is an important obstacle to the progress of ASEAN. It weakens the ideology of ASEAN for building this region into a one of peace and it weakens the cooperation between all the nationalities of the South-east Asia region. Although the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops certainly affects the entire region, the most directly and heavily affected is Thailand. It lies in the front line of events and, time and time again, has had to take invasions by foreign troops that violate its sovereignty because of the suppression of resistance fighters in Kampuchea and the exodus of refugees overflowing from Kampuchea into Thailand.

The front line status of Thailand has made it struggle to seek a way to solve the Kampuchea problem and Thailand must bear more of the weight of other disruptive problems from the Indochina bloc than other nations. Nevertheless, the strong unity of the ASEAN bloc has at least kept alive the hope for solving these problems, even though the opposition is supported by those blind to the truth.

The United Nations passed a resolution many years ago that Kampuchea is to be free from the control of the foreign troops entering to protect it, namely, to make Vietnam withdraw entirely from this country. Although this UN resolution was an international matter, it was not magical enough to lead to solving the Kampuchea problem by making the solution materialize in accordance with the resolution. Vietnam still continues to keep its troops there.

We believe that this ASEAN foreign ministers conference will have a more successful outcome than former ones, namely, by seeking another method for solving the problem that does not involve the United Nations. If it is possible, each stage of the solution should be political or diplomatic, along with economic, in which ASEAN is in the strongest condition in the world compared to Vietnam. At the least, ASEAN has caught on quickly to the Vietnamese [way of thinking and operating] so ASEAN should show its understanding in new measures more than it is doing at present. In order to preserve its objectives concerning the Kampuchea problem, ASEAN should act in line with its former principles, namely, freeing Kampuchea from foreign troops and making it free and sovereign so that the people of Kampuchea can freely decide their own affairs themselves.

12587

CSO: 4207/186

NEW INTELLIGENCE, PSYWAR UNIT FORMED IN UBON

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 1 Jul 84 pp 1, 16

[Text] The 5th Provincial Police Headquarters has formed a special psychological warfare operations unit in three border districts in Ubon [Province] bordering Laos and Kampuchea. This unit will be responsible for gathering intelligence and assisting the population, and it has announced its serious intention to arrest authorities who oppress the villagers. It is requesting the private sector to assist with its budget.

It was reported from Ubon Ratchatani Province that from 2:30-4:30 pm on 30 June, a press conference was held about the operations of the Special Operations Unit during January to June this year in line with the plan for stepping up contacts with the population. Pol Maj Gen Thep Dusanee, commander of the 5th Region, Pol Col Niphon Santaphong, deputy commander of the 5th Region, Special Pol Col Surin Itthiprasert, deputy commander of the 5th Region and Pol Col Somphong Anurak, chief of police of the 5th Region headquarters gave the conference at the Special Operations Unit's 5th Provincial Police headquarters. The press conference can be summarized as follows.

Because the area covering the three districts of Boonsik, Nam Yuen and Nachaluay in Ubon Ratchathani Province is a frontier region bordering on Laos and Kampuchea and an area connected to many provinces in Thailand, there are constant problems with incidents involving communist terrorists and opponents who invade the sovereignty [of Thailand], as well as many incidents with bandits. These have shaken the people's morale and made them lose heart. These various problems may make the official operating units unable to reach the entire population and that might create misunderstanding between the people and government authorities. Therefore, the 5th Provincial Police headquarters has set up the Special Operations Unit, a special police combat force that has been turned into a psywar operations unit, for building relations between the people and government authorities. It operates in the area in coordination with local authorities by giving assistance and solving the various problems named below.

- 1) Collecting intellignnce
- 2) Listening to the opinions and needs of the population
- 3) Legal advice
- 4) Medical care
- 5) Self-defense against bandits and various threats
- 6) Assisting with juvenile delinquency problems

7) Pointing out the relationship between the population and the police to make a good image develop.

Also, the security of that region is increasingly vulnerable because the Green Star, a communist terrorist group, has its headquarters at Pakse.

The majority of the project's operating funds will come from the Special Operations Unit's permanent budget, which is very small, and if the project is continued because of its usefulness to officials, the 5th Provincial Police headquarters will request the private sector to assist in funding the project. It is confident that it will help build the morale and spirit of the population in this border area.

12587

CSO: 4207/186

SHARP REGIONAL DISPARITIES IN INCOME SHOWN

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Taa1 18 Jul 84 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Northeastern People Win Poverty Championship with Daily Income of Only 15 Baht"]

[Text] Statistics show that the average daily [individual] income in the entire country is 24 baht. Northeastern region people are the reigning poverty champions with an [average] daily income of 15 baht; Bangkok people have an [average] daily income of 44 baht. This disparity is blamed on development plans, which have made the rich richer and the poor poorer, and on the government, which has not aimed at creating enough jobs.

Dr Niyom Purakham, assistant secretary of the National Statistical Office, disclosed to SIAM RAT that the [average] monthly national household income in 1983 (with [an average] 5.3 members in a household) was 3623 baht or 43,476 baht per year, an average daily individual income of 24 baht. For Bangkok people, the average income for households was the highest; (with [an average] 5.2 household members) it was 6629 baht per month or 79,548 baht per year, with an average daily individual income of 44.19 baht. Northeastern people still hold the poverty championship with the lowest income. The [average] monthly income (with [an average] 5.8 members per household) was 2815 baht or 33,780 baht per year and an average daily individual income of 15.63 baht.

Central region people have an average monthly household income (with [an average] 5.2 members per household) of 4086 baht or 49,032 baht per year and an average daily individual income of 27.24 baht. Southern region people have an average monthly household income (with [an average] 5.3 members per household) of 3190 baht or 38,280 baht per year. And northern region people have an average monthly household income (with [an average] 4.8 members per household) of 2765 baht or 33,180 baht per year with an average daily individual income of 18.4 baht.

It should be noted that in the income statistics for the areas on the outskirts of the capital and outside the municipalities in the various regions that incomes are much lower compared to those for municipalities, especially for the northeastern region. There the average monthly household income outside the municipalities is only 2452 baht per month or an [average]

daily individual income of 13.6 baht. For the outskirts of Bangkok, the average monthly household income is 4898 baht or an [average] daily individual income of 44.19 baht.

Dr Niyom also stated that past development has emphasized infrastructure--the construction of dams, roads, electricity, waterworks and telephone communications--but that these did not generate more opportunities for creating jobs and that income, which for the most part is from agriculture, depends on nature and the weather.

"This kind of development has made the rich richer and poor poorer because the distribution of income is not as good as it should be. The income of Bangkok people has increased because they earn their living in commerce and industry, and also because their wages and salaries have been regularly adjusted in line with the minimum wage. This differs from rural areas where production is dependent upon nature and the government is unable to guarantee the sale of production," Dr Niyom stated.

The assistant secretary of the National Statistical Office further stated that there have been in the past and remain in the present great disparities between the regions and Bangkok.

12587

CSO: 4207/186

MONKS GET PROPAGANDA LECTURE FROM FIRST ARMY

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 23 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Army Requests Monks to Join in Solving National Problems"]

[Text] The First Region Army's Civil Affairs Division has requested monks to assist in solving national problems and warned that if Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are strongly consolidated, every place in Thailand will be in trouble.

On 22 June, a conference was organized at Benjamaborphit Temple, with 150 district committee patriarchs and development specialist monks from the 1st Region Army's area attending. The purpose of the conference was to request cooperation from the monks in supporting the National Security Reserve Project by making temples into social, psychological and rural development activity centers.

Col Somsak Sanyakhamthon, deputy chief of the Civil Affairs Division of the 1st Region Army, explained the situation of the country to the monks at the conference, saying that there are three things that endanger national security: the threat from communist terrorists, the threat from the super-power struggle between China and the USSR in this region and the threat from international terrorist movements.

Colonel Somsak stated that Vietnam has announced that it would set up an Indochinese Federation of Laos, Vietnam, Kampuchea and a part of Thailand. Vietnam now has nearly all of [this region], with only Thailand missing. This is a very grave matter and worth following closely.

"If Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are ever strongly consolidated, this will create troublesome problems everywhere. The National Security Reserve Project is one measure that will build national security and make the people prepared at all times," Colonel Somsak stated. He said that this conference for the monks had been organized because the army wants the religious institutions to co-exist with the national institutions, although the religious institutions must be able to exist on their own. This conference will enable the monks to foresee the future of the methods for solving national problems together.

Colonel Somsak stated that, in addition to the political and social situations, the advancement of technology and communications is rapid, but that, nevertheless, Buddhist principles still are applicable; it depends if the leaders who use them for solving problems understand them correctly, which also depends on the monks present at the conference.

12587

CSO: 4207/186

THAILAND

WOULD-BE PREM ASSASSIN STRIPPED OF RANK

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 6 Jul 84 p 16

[Text] Due to the fact that there has been an announcement of the Office of the Prime Minister on the "rank stripping," published in the ROYAL GAZETTE, Vol 101, Section 71, dated 5 June 1984, which says, "Because Maj Phairat Phophrueksawong, an accused in a criminal case with his accomplices, who used an M72 rocket to fire at General Prem Tinnasulanon, prime minister and minister of defense, in a premeditated act, and then fled, the Ministry of Defense has issued an order stripping Maj Phairat Phophrueksawong of his rank beginning 2 April 1983, justifying that with such an act he is no longer fit to remain in the military ranks. His majesty the king therefore has issued an order stripping Maj Phairat Phophrueksawong of his rank effective 2 April 1983."

The announcement was dated 11 May 1984, with Gen Prem Tinnasulanon countersigning as prime minister.

Maj Phairat Phophrueksawong, former deputy commander of the 31st Artillery Battalion, King's Guard, who took part in the 1 April abortive coup, and who transferred to the Artillery Affairs Center about 2 months prior to the attempted assassination, used a 9mm piston to kill himself on 26 April 1983, only 4 days after the Army had posted a reward of 500,000 baht for information leading to his arrest. Before Major Phairat shot himself to death at the house of his girl friend's elder sister located in Udom Sap Village in Udom Suk Lane (Sukhumvit 103), Bangna, Bangkok, Pol Col (rank at the time) Bunchoo Wangkanon, the current commander of the Suppression Division, who was at the time the commander of Provincial Police, Region 1, had led a police force to the house to arrest him at around noon. Major Phairat refused to surrender to the charges that he and his accomplices had used a 66 mm M72 rocket to attempt to assassinate General Prem Tinnasulanon, the prime minister, on 16 July 1982, in the area of the Artillery Affairs Center, an attempt from which the prime minister escaped unharmed. Among the other three accused, Master Sergeant Prawet Phumphuag, Master Sergeant Amonsak Indee-chote, and Sergeant Suphat Thongsukphong, only Master Sergeant Amonsak Indee-chote was arrested. He was taken to the military tribunal who sentenced him to life imprisonment; however, when he confessed, his sentence was reduced to 25 years.

12282

CSO: 4207/187

EDITORIAL VIEWS PROBLEM OF DISORDER IN SOUTH

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 6 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] The killings in many southern provinces, particularly in Nakhon Si Thammarat, which currently are a news item, are one of the problems that result from several causes. Ranking officials of the provinces have expressed their views that these problems have occurred because of the conflict of interest among interest groups, and no one has yet been able to solve this problem.

From the causes of this problem, it can be seen that the South is characteristically different from other regions in many ways if we were to consider the situation surrounding the interests--be it poached logs, smuggled goods, minerals, or even the protection of the interest of those concerned--in which outlawed means are used against each other.

Likewise, if the South is to be made peaceful successfully in accordance with the administration's and the Regional Army's plan, the administration and the Regional Army might want to go back to the core cause of the event. In particular, one thing that will make the South truly peaceful is for the people who make an honest living, not those who are involved in illegal trading or who use influence for their own gain, to have peace.

Based on all this, the South is one region that we can develop into a prosperous area; it is a region that brings in the highest revenues for the state when compared with other regions. It also has geographical advantages. Although it is the duty of the administration or the crime suppression department to solve these problems, they are still difficult to do away with entirely as trading and business dealings in this region depends mainly on influence.

The statement of a high-ranking official in one province says doing away with influential local groups is difficult no matter how hard we try because each group has many supporters who spread out all over. But what can be and has been done is for government officials to ignore the killings between the influential groups and let them destroy each other. It makes us see even more clearly that the administration of a region does not embrace the prevention of crimes or the use of legal means to solve the problem--if influential groups destroy each other until they disappear.

What we are concerned with is that we want the living standard of honest people to be raised by giving them protection without being bullied by interest or influential groups. This issue is more important than allowing the groups to destroy each other because being concerned with the groups' mutual destruction can create a gap between the honest people and the government officials.

Because of this, government officials ought to be able to consider and analyze the problem of the various groups and then move in to separate the honest folks from the interest groups, because at present government officials can devote themselves to the development of the localities without being concerned with any form of terrorism that can be used as a threat to peace. And so there remain only the interest groups who refer to political movements in order to create a threat for their own gain.

12282

CSO: 4207/187

SUPREME COMMAND MAY RESTRAIN BURMA EXILES

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 21 Jul 84 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Supreme Command Sets Plan to Restrict Burmese Minorities, Stipulates Restricted Areas"]

[Text] The Supreme Command has concluded a seminar about strictly controlling exiled Burmese minority groups along the northern border so that they will not create anti-government incidents for either Thailand or Burma. [The Supreme Command] is preparing to allow [these groups] to work in permitted provinces and is setting up tight narcotics and arms check points.

At 1:00 pm on 20 July, Maj Gen Pamote Thavornchan, military chief-of-staff and chairman of the seminar, ended the meeting for officials in the chain of command for implementing the policies for the Thai-Burma border area. The seminar was held in the conference room of the Central Command Headquarters at Suapa.

Lt Gen Krit Checharoen, the chief of Military Operations of the Joint Directorate of the Supreme Command and in his capacity as head of the directors of the seminar, reported that from his evaluation, the participants fully understand the policies and operational procedures together with the regulations and orders involved in carrying out the mission along the Thai-Burma border. [He said] that in the seminar, the group had examined the problems that had developed and that the important points were:

- 1) Measures for controlling approximately 30,000 displaced Burmese nationals in provincial areas along the Burmese border to make them stay in restricted areas. These people will be required to strictly follow government regulations in order to guarantee that they will not be able to use Thai territory for activities dangerous to either the Thai or Burmese government. They also outlined the procedures for punishments in case there are any violations.

- 2) Measures for managing the Burmese nationalities who come in to try to work as laborers in border area provinces, especially Ranong Province, where they are 2000 [tribesmen]. The seminar laid out policies for dealing with this problem that stress safety, peace and also national security. In addition, they must not allow this to destabilize the country's economy and concluded that they should allow Burmese nationalities to work in some jobs in the

provinces along the Burmese border. All this must be executed correctly, according to the law and the regulations of officials.

3) Regarding measures to suppress the arms, narcotics and other illicit trades along the Thai-Burma border, a final point was decided, that suppression operations would be carried out seriously and strictly in line with government policies by increasing the check points and intelligence operations.

12587

CSO: 4207/191

CROWN PRINCE ASKED ABOUT RAISING ILLEGITIMATE SONS

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 23 Jul 84 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Crown Prince Explains About Raising His Children to be Ordinary People"]

[Text] The crown prince has revealed his way for raising his children to be ordinary people and for fitting into their environment and being self-supporting. The important thing is to contribute to the common good as much as possible and they are being taught not to think of themselves as children of a crown prince.

Around 3:00 pm on 22 July, the Parents and Teachers Association of Sathit Prasanmit Primary School held a seminar about the problems of parents in the Ambassador Hotel's Sivalai Room. More than 1000 people attended the seminar.

At 5:00 pm, Mr Thinwat Marikphitak, the leader of the seminar, announced that although he was not sure about its appropriateness, that those who wanted to know about the crown prince's way of raising his sons should applaud.

Many people applauded loudly for a long time. Then Mr Thinwat invited the crown prince to come to the microphone where he gave the following speech.

"This question has caught me off guard. [But] after listening to the exciting and provocative explanations from these qualified people, I have gotten some ideas and will answer the question. Above all, raising children--regardless of whether they are daughters or sons--is preparing them so that they will confront life with the best means for contributing to the collective group, regardless of whether it is the family, friends or the country.

"The biggest problem is that we give birth to them, we create them, regardless of whether it's called the duty of the father or the child. I have a way for preparing them, which is this: I must try to train, inform and guide them by developing their own personalities. This means not forcing the first child to have this personality and the second child that personality or be like the father, or that the son must be like the father. I advise you to guide a child to develop in accordance with his own character, that we should study the basic personality of a child, what he likes, what are his weak and strong points."

The crown prince further stated that some people might teach their child to be extremely responsible, that he must be a high official or increase their prestige. A young child does not understand this. We must start by teaching a child how to correctly perceive himself in his environment and how to adjust to his environment the very best that he can.

"When we have little children, we must emphasize what to do so that they can have friends--this is important--so that they can contribute to the common good, be helpful to friends, not just be weighted down by selfish things, get along with others--which is not to be just a taker. It's not making others interested in you, what to do to get something from them. The right thing is to do something to help them, to be useful. It's what to do to be likeable, which is not to be famous but to help society. This is something that we must know ourselves, that what we do won't create problems or difficulties for others. It's what to do to make other people happy and united.

"Just simply teach the child that he doesn't go to school to show off or act big or make trouble, that he should willingly sacrifice and share whatever he has, like his friends. [Teach him] that he should not talk uncouthly or to break the unity of the group, that he should conduct himself so as not to irritate other people, such as by his dress or his character. [Teaching him] about respect is a simple matter, that when he meets teachers and adults he must bow right away. When someone gives him something, he should immediately thank him because it is the correct behavior. When teachers sit on the floor, he should not remain above them; [he should] do whatever [is necessary] so he will not make people despise him."

The crown prince also stated that, "Even if you are a child from a noble or important family, a royal child, you cannot escape [the fact]--whether you're royalty or anyone else--that you must [answer to] society, to groups, to the country, the same as [other people], that you must take more responsibility, be more helpful. For example, my children are scrutinized to see if they are tricky, brave, cowardly, down to earth or need people to constantly fawn on them. If it's like that, instead of having a superiority complex, it becomes an inferiority complex. So we must teach our children every day to understand that a crown prince's children are just ordinary children, the same as other children, that they have the same responsibilities to learn about life, to study and seek knowledge and skills. The most important things are to make friends and prepare themselves to sacrifice for the common good.

"[This applies] even more so to royal children, who must sacrifice and cannot demand anything. For example, as the crown prince's son, if anyone likes you and wants to give you something, you cannot just say, I do not want it, I want to be an ordinary person. You have to take the middle way, tell everyone not to be in awe because you are the crown prince's child, that they should be at ease, that the crown prince and his children are happy to conduct themselves the same as others and happy to act as good role models in the proper way.

"Simply teach the child to know how to adjust to his environment and solve the basic problem first--that of being given too much, which makes you forget

yourself--not be conscientious--which is very dangerous. Teach the child that giving is not the ordinary state of affairs, that it is also submissive fidelity, [sometimes] with hidden motives, and how to refuse offerings smoothly and politely."

The crown prince stated that being a royal child is very difficult. [He said] that it had been debated about how to be a model parent but there had been no discussion about very stubborn children or the so-called prince's illness, that of throwing tantrums every time the child cannot get his way. Concerning children's problems, [he said that] one day we should discuss the prince's illness and how to deal with it.

"When I send my children to this school, it's because I have decided that I don't want them to study inside [the palace]. I want them to study outside so that they learn about real life. I want them to be tough enough to come out and struggle with reality because this school is actually a miniature society and the school can help guide my children to express themselves with loving teachers and administrators. I want them to have good friends, to get to know all kinds of people of all professions, so I have sent them here to get to know real society. I must prepare my children well to make them behave like other people. If I do not prepare them, then my children will not get along with anyone, which would be a problem. We must not kill our children" [as published].

Finally, the crown prince stated that he was entrusting his children to the school administrators and teachers and requested them to be kind to them, to help teach them. [He said that] he wants his children to have close friends, that he himself wants to make friends, also, that the door to his home is never closed and that he is always ready to be friends.

12587

CSO: 4207/191

BRIEFS

POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS--The National Statistical Office has performed a survey and discovered that the largest number of Thai women get married at age 19 and have an average five children. Mr Niyom Purakham, assistant secretary of the National Statistical Office, revealed that from analyses of the marriage statistics of women, which were taken from the 1980 population census, it was discovered that 10,031,978 women over 13 years of age are married. Of this amount, the largest number are married at age 19--1,314,729 women. The next largest groups are 18-year-olds with 1,132,877 married women, 20-year-olds with 1,095,399, 17-year-olds with 1,005,870, and 21-year-olds, with 756,375. Mr Niyom stated that from statistical analyses of married women, 5,079,580 women have been married for more than 15 years. It was discovered that the largest group of married Thai women have five children. [Text] [Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 12 Jun 84 p 3] 12587

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH LIBYA--Siam Interland has accepted a 500 million baht project in Libya, flown back to Thailand to shake hands with two newly founded construction companies and disclosed that there are no problems in entering the country except that Libya has changed its procedures. Mr Manit Watcharaphonmek of the pullic relations department of the Siam Interland Company, Limited, disclosed that Rear Admiral Pricha Chuaychu, Royal Navy, the director of the company's Libyan branch, has returned to Thailand to make contracts with two more construction companies. They are the United Construction (UCON) Company, Limited, which has Mr Prasert Footrakoon as its director, and the Saengfa Construction Company, Limited, with Mr Sukit Amphornsuksakoon as its director and who is the director of the Siam Group Consortium Company, Limited, which he founded with the support of the Overseas Thai Business Promotion and Coordination Center. The Siam Group Consortium Company, Limited, was set up with the objective of operating businesses in Libya where the Siam Interland Company, Limited, now has received a 500 million baht construction project for 30 km of fences from the Libyan government. The first group of 44 workers is scheduled to be sent to work in Libya around the middle part of next month. Concerning previous news reports that Libya is refusing to issue visas to Thai workers, Mr Manit disclosed that there was a misunderstanding because Libya had just changed the way it issues visas; instead of giving a "box visa" type as it did previously, it is now issuing individual visas. "When the "box visa" type was used, here were problems because of frequent cheating by the people receiving it, who often added more digits to the number on the visa.

When the workers were sent, there were not enough jobs, so Libya changed [its method of issuing visas]. Now whoever wants to go must first send a list of names and then the visas will be issued in accordance with the listed names," Mr Mani disclosed. [Text] [Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 29 May 84 p 10] 12587

CSO: 4207/186

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY UNITS CONQUER DONG THAP MUOI AREA

Hanoi TIEN PHONG in Vietnamese 26 Jun - 2 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nguyen Van Xuyen, assistant secretary of the Long An Provincial CPV Committee, by a TIEN PHONG reporter at Dong Thap Muoi on the organization and activities of Dong Thap Muoi regiments; date not specified]

[Text] [Question] Readers of TIEN PHONG are very interested in the initiative taken by Long An to form labor regiments, or as our comrades call them, Dong Thap economic regiments. Would you please tell us about the nature of these regiments' activities?

[Answer] The higher ranks have approved of our proposal to form regiments which combine military draft and labor obligation for a period of 3 years. After this time, the soldier is discharged from his military obligation.

[Question] What are the reasons for the formation of these regiments?

[Answer] First of all and most importantly, the idea originates from the need indicated by the party long ago to exploit our labor and land resources. Long An is very rich in both land and labor, but these have not been sufficiently exploited for economic purposes. We have a labor force of 400,000 people (for a population of over 1 million), but are only utilizing one third of this labor. The whole province has an area of 390,000 hectares that can be used for agricultural production, but 190,000 are uncultivated, mainly at Dong Thap Muoi. In view of this situation, in recent years and especially since the 3rd Congress of the Provincial Party Organization in 1983, after much thought we decided to launch a movement to conquer Dong Thap Muoi by organizing massive labor forces. Besides efficiently mobilizing obligated labor forces, labor forces according to age and labor forces from collectives coming from different southern districts to exploit and reinforce the collectives at Dong Thap Muoi, we formed Dong Thap economic regiments. Another important factor is the need to guarantee justice in the military draft with respect to political interests of youth. In recent years, Long An has always been the leading province in Military Region 7 on recruiting. But, as you know, the number of military inductees only represents a definite ratio; many youth, because of health or political standards, have not

yet completed their military obligation. The drafting of these youth into economic regiments would be a way of responding to their legitimate aspirations.

[Question] What are the duties of Dong Thap regiments?

[Answer] Their main duty is to contribute to economic development in the localities with 2 months a year military training in order to assume internal security in the province. These hard core forces coordinate with other labor forces to exploit Dong Thap Muoi, develop communication, water resources, agricultural production through intensive cultivation of additional crops, and gradually spread the population in the districts of Dong Thap Muoi which has a very low population density: only 50 persons per square kilometer.

These units are ready to fight whenever they receive the order.

[Question] How are the economic regiments organized?

[Answer] The regiments began to be formed in August 1983, administered by the military organ of the province according to army regulations. The commanding and administrative cadres consist of officers and non-commissioned officers transferred from the army. Economic management and technical personnel are supplemented by the provincial branches.

At the present, we have three regiments, called the Dong Thap I, Dong Thap II, and Dong Thap III regiments, with 7,000 persons. These regiments are doing well in military training, labor duties and self-sufficient production work.

[Question] What system do they have and what are their rights and privileges?

[Answer] As with any new recruited soldier, each person receives military equipment; for the first 3 months, the state budget covers his basic needs and provides him with the necessary tools. After that, the units are engaged in production business, being responsible for profits and expenses, and they naturally contribute to the state budget.

[Question] How would you evaluate the results of the organization and activities of economic regiments?

[Answer] I think that as a first step, this has gone quite well. Using the organized collective labor forces, these economic units have developed many important communication and water resource projects, helped double the crops in almost 10,000 hectares of land in Moc Hoa and Tan Thanh, and provided irrigation to thousands of hectares of peanut fields in the Duc Hoa. Thanks to these efforts, a new population has emerged in Dong Thap Muoi with new production collectives.

These units guarantee the good and profitable economic activities. On the average each soldier collects 600 dong every month and, after deduction for his three meal expenses, still gets 200 dong.

From the point of view of youth, Dong Thap regiments have gathered good results. This is where youth are trained to do labor, to learn an occupation, and to become mature. In general soldiers are enthusiastic in carrying out their duties. I must add: very few desert. Of course we plan to invest more of the union's effort here, to be more concerned with soldier's lives, their material and moral interests so that we may impact on many more aspects.

[Reporter] Thank you, Comrade.

12745

CSO: 4209/375

HOANG VAN THAI ON INCREASED TRAINING OF BASIC UNIT CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Jun 84 pp 1-6

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai: "Building the Corps of Basic Unit Cadres"]

[Text] The basic unit cadres(1) constitute the gateway to the officers corps and are the persons who directly organize the implementation of each line, position and policy of the party and state, each order and directive of the upper echelon within the basic unit. They are the persons who directly command, manage and teach soldiers in the performance of each task within the unit and are the link between the party and the masses. A strong and solid corps of cadres within the basic units provides basic, favorable conditions for the development of the entire corps of cadres and a dependable source of future members of the corps of middle and high level cadres. Therefore, strengthening and improving the quality of the corps of cadres within the basic units are a very important task of strategic significance, a task that is of basic, long-range importance as well as pressing, immediate importance in the present situation and our task of building the basic units.

Only by building a strong and solid corps of basic unit cadres is it possible to strengthen the army's discipline, manage and forge troops, manage equipment and material-technical bases and build basic units that are strong and solid in every respect. To develop good soldiers, it is first of all necessary to have skilled basic unit cadres. To build basic units that are strong and solid in every respect, we must build a strong and solid corps of basic unit cadres.

In the building of the corps of cadres, facts have shown that we must attach importance to building the corps of high level cadres, the corps of middle level cadres and the corps of basic level cadres as well. However, in the present situation, due to the position, role and importance of the basic units, the building of the corps of basic unit cadres has become a matter of even more pressing significance. The 1984 resolution of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee stated: "Efforts must be focused on improving the quality of the corps of cadres, especially the corps of basic unit cadres." Therefore, building a corps of basic unit cadres that is of sufficient size and of high quality is not only of very important significance in the completion of immediate buildup and

combat tasks, but also has a very large influence upon the building of the corps of cadres over the long range, upon the development of our army into a regular force, modern army and upon the fulfillment of our tasks of defending and building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland in the present stage of the revolution.

In recent years, in conjunction with the building of the corps of key cadres and the corps of specialized and technical cadres, we have given attention to building and strengthening the corps of basic unit cadres and coordinated long-term and short-term training with advanced, on-the-job training and promotions. As a result, we now have a rather large number of basic unit cadres of all types in all sectors, branches and services who have been meeting the requirements involved in the buildup and combat of the armed forces. However, new requirements and tasks demand that we have an increasingly large corps of basic unit cadres of increasingly high quality. Because cadres have not been provided with much advanced training, the quality of the corps of basic unit cadres is still low and its size is still inadequate. As a result, the situation that has arisen within units is that the corps of basic unit cadres is still inadequate and weak, especially in the areas of platoon leaders and deputy company political officers.

One important reason for this situation is the fact that the party committees and commanders on the various echelons have not fully understood or recognized the role, position and importance of building the corps of basic unit cadres, as a result of which they have not given their attention to regularly looking after, building, solidifying and strengthening the corps of basic unit cadres in terms of its size and quality and have not employed a wide variety of positive measures and forms of activity to provide advanced training and promptly strengthen and augment positions at which cadres are lacking.

To do a good job of building the corps of basic unit cadres, the party committees and commanders on the various echelons, especially from the division and regimental echelons downward, must display high responsibility and determination and make many more efforts to resolve this problem of strategic significance in order to meet pressing immediate requirements and create a permanent source of cadres for the entire corps of cadres of the army.

The specifics and measures involved in building the corps of basic unit cadres as well as in building the corps of cadres, in general, are wide-ranging. However, the corps of basic unit cadres is characterized by cadres who are still young, who learn quickly, readily accept that which is new, are enthusiastic, intense and so forth but still have little experience in life, in combat and their jobs and their tasks are developing rapidly and constantly changing. Therefore, the specifics and measures involved in this effort must be suitable. Ideological, organizational and policy measures must be coordinated in a close and effective manner in order to build and strengthen the corps of basic unit cadres and insure that, within the space of the next few years, we provide elementary and advanced training to a sufficient number of cadres and rapidly improve the quality of the corps of basic unit cadres in every respect to promptly meet the requirements of the combat task and buildup

of the army. To achieve this result, it is necessary to concentrate on performing the following several jobs well:

1. Cadre planning, in general, and the planning of the corps of basic unit cadres, in particular, must become detailed planning. On the basis of this planning, persons must be selected and trained for the corps of basic unit cadres.

All echelons, especially the division, regimental and battalion echelons, must formulate planning that extends all the way down to platoon and squad cadres and build sources of cadres from the ranks of non-commissioned officers and upward. Specific plans must be adopted for providing each unit with the precise number of cadres needed, training these cadres and improving their quality.

Full importance must be attached to creating sources of cadres and selecting and training prospective cadres who meet the requirements of being eligible from the standpoint of class guidelines, meeting all standards and showing prospects for development over the long range. Attention must be given to selecting and preparing prospective cadres among those persons who have just entered the army. The basic unit cadres in every sector are primarily selected from the lower echelons within the same sector. Here, attention must be given to selecting military personnel who have been tempered in combat and work. Through party and Youth Union work, we must teach revolutionary ideals to soldiers and raise their revolutionary awareness so that they clearly recognize the obligation, responsibility and honor that are theirs as members of the party, as members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. Steadfast educational efforts and persuasion must be employed to create a large pool of persons for officer training.

Selecting and training prospective cadres are the responsibility of the party committees and party chapters, of the commanders on the various echelons; at the same time, they are also the responsibility of each basic unit cadre. The cadre agencies on the various echelons, especially the division echelon, must routinely guide the basic units in building the pool of prospective cadres, in managing and keeping up to date on the status of the basic pool. This pool must be built in a manner that reflects initiative, positive actions and constant efforts. The training of this pool must encompass a broad range of persons but plans must be adopted which guarantee that the quality of the pool of prospective cadres is very high.

2. Coordinating training at schools and training within the unit with training and the development of skills in the realities of everyday work in order to raise the qualifications of basic unit cadres.

The successful training of basic unit cadres is the foremost requirement in building a strong and solid corps of basic unit cadres.

The subject matter and programs at officers schools for the training of basic unit cadres must be fundamental, comprehensive, systematic and complete in nature; however, they must also be based on the specific requirements and task of each unit and training must be conducted accordingly. If the conditions

needed to provide basic, systematic and comprehensive training do not exist, selective training must be provided by coordinating job assignments with on-the-job training. Later, when these conditions do exist, persons can be sent for training at schools.

The subject matter and methods employed in training must be specific and practical, must result in the training of each person for a specific job with specific requirements. The focal point must be to provide training in the work performed within the basic units, with importance attached to providing training in experience that has been gained in combat and work. Cadres who have graduated from school should be given additional training regarding the experience that has been gained within the unit; for cadres who have yet to attend school, an on-the-job training program must be adopted in order to develop cadres who are qualified in every respect and insure the completion of tasks.

In the training of cadres, there must be a rational division of responsibilities that meets qualitative and corps size requirements.

The officers schools of the ministry specialize in long-term training based on the subject matter, program, length of training and rate of training stipulated by the ministry. The officers schools of the services and branches can simultaneously undertake the various types of short-term training for platoon leaders that the military administration schools are unable to undertake and provide supplementary training to company and battalion cadres.

The military corps have military administration schools to train firepower and combat support squad leaders and provide short-term supplementary training to platoon leaders and deputy company political officers. When necessary, they can also be assigned the task of providing short-term training to platoon leaders and deputy company political officers and supplementary training to company and battalion cadres.

The military administration schools of the military regions provide short-term platoon leader training and supplementary training to company and battalion cadres and district unit cadres.

The military regions, military corps, services and branches must still maintain their cultural schools and classes in order to gradually raise the cultural standard of all cadres to general middle school level as stated in the resolution of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

The divisions organize training battalions to train non-commissioned officers for the task of their unit. When necessary, they can provide practical and classroom training to newly appointed platoon leaders.

The local military schools of the provincial military commands, in keeping with the stipulations set forth at the Conference of the Military Administration Schools of the Military Regions and Provinces, train squad leaders of the local forces, village and subward unit cadres, platoon cadres for the self-defense units and so forth.

General guidance has been provided concerning training subject matter and programs; however, each military region, military corps, division and province must study and supplement them in a manner consistent with the situation, task and special characteristics of their locality and unit. Therefore, the commanders on the various echelons must truly keep abreast of the work being performed by the schools and the training of cadres.

On the basis of the division of responsibilities presented above, it is necessary to arrange for an adequate number of instructors and trainee management cadres. We must be decisive and assign good, qualified cadres who have received basic training to supplement the schools. Only in this way can there be high quality instruction and learning.

It is necessary to transfer from units to schools a number of means of transportation, weapons and pieces of equipment and organize the production of models and training aids so that training simulates actual conditions. Only in this way can we insure that the schools are ahead of units and that their graduates are proficient in the use of the types of equipment and weapons that their units have. Appropriate investments must be made in capital construction in order to build the schools into schools, the classes into classes, create good conditions for the forging of trainees and enable the schools to serve as examples for units.

Establishing and building a pool of personnel to be sent for training at schools are very important. The establishment of this pool must be based on planning and yearly plans. The members of this pool must be given comprehensive training, both cultural and physical training, to insure that they are fully qualified to be sent for training at long-term schools. The persons sent for short-term training must be selected from among graduates of non-commissioned officers training, namely, squad leaders and assistant leaders in order to insure their quality.

The training of basic unit cadres must be closely coordinated with the building of basic units that are strong and solid in every respect, with the forging of party members, in order to create the conditions for basic unit cadres to steadily mature in every respect.

There must be close coordination between the on-the-job training of basic unit cadres and the training of these cadres at schools. On-the-job training must be provided regularly and training at schools is very important. Training must be provided in a very flexible manner consistent with the actual circumstances of each unit. We must encourage each cadre to adopt a self-improvement plan, make every effort to learn more and take positive steps to assist and train one another.

3. Focusing on the factor of decisive significance, management; assigning responsibilities and tasks to basic unit cadres; providing them with regular training within the unit and improving their command and management skills through the realities of their work.

The close management of cadres is the basis for training and assigning responsibilities and tasks to cadres. Only by providing good management is it

possible to correctly understand cadres, to fully see their strengths and weaknesses, to establish appropriate training plans and requirements that develop their capabilities and strengths and help them make continuous progress. Only by providing good management is it possible to lay the groundwork for assigning responsibilities and tasks to cadres in a correct and accurate manner, possible to tap the zeal and abilities of cadres and create the conditions for them to improve themselves, raise their qualifications through training and complete each task well. Only by providing good management is it possible to help cadres constantly maintain their good qualities and pure virtues, struggle to overcome weaknesses and mistakes, triumph over all negative and backward thinking and make strong and continuous progress.

The management of cadres must begin as soon as they arrive at the unit. Officers fresh from school are equipped with basic knowledge; however, whether or not they use this knowledge in their day to day work depends upon how the organization manages, utilizes and trains them. Therefore, when cadres arrive from school to augment the unit, the commander must meet with them immediately, explain the situation and assign them a clearly defined task. On the regimental and battalion echelons, the commander must define in very deep detail the tasks that are assigned and provide training in matters that are necessary in the task assigned to the cadre.

The assignment of responsibilities and tasks must meet the requirements of the overall task and be consistent with the qualifications and capabilities of basic unit cadres in order to not only help them complete their task, but also train, teach and improve their qualifications through the performance of their task. Therefore, when assigning jobs to them, cadres must be provided with training so that they know what they must do and how they must perform their job. Inspections and supervision must be intensified. Good work must be promptly praised; when poor work is performed, the cadre must be given guidance and instruction.

Once responsibilities and tasks have been assigned, importance must be attached to training and guiding basic unit cadres so that they gradually become familiar with the realities of their work and combat. Specific instructions must be provided for each task and job, the training of basic unit cadres must be closely linked to the performance of tasks within the unit and continued training must be provided to them through the performance of their task.

The battalion commander must maintain close contact with company and platoon cadres, even when they are conducting training on training grounds as well as in the process of commanding and managing troops.

In keeping with the division of management responsibilities, each time a cadre is appointed to a new position, the commander must personally meet with him to instruct him in his task and encourage him to perform it well; if necessary, the commander must arrange for comprehensive short-term training or training in a specific aspect of the cadre's job in order to create the conditions for him to fulfill his new duties.

It is necessary to regularly conduct preliminary reviews, gain experience from each area of work, conduct exchanges of opinions, hold military scientific conferences and use jobs that are performed well, persons who perform their work well and good experiences as examples in the training and education of cadres.

The commanders on the various echelons must adopt plans for periodically meeting with lower echelon cadres to learn their desires and aspirations and help them resolve difficulties and problems in their work and thinking. At the same time, they must do a good job of evaluating cadres each year and after each task or phase of work.

4. Researching, amending and properly complying with the policies regarding cadres.

The policies regarding cadres, which are specific regulations on cadre training, utilization and remuneration, are designed to insure the correct implementation of class guidelines, insure that standards are correctly applied and enable cadres to complete their tasks well and constantly grow and make progress. Only by adopting correct policies and implementing them well is it possible to insure that cadres are utilized in the field for which they were trained, insure that cadres are trained before they are put to work and possible to motivate and encourage cadres.

Therefore, in leadership and command work as well as when organizing implementation, there must be firm adherence to the viewpoints and specific requirements set forth in cadre policies, which include the cadre training policy, the cadre utilization policy and the policy on supporting the spiritual and material lives of cadres. However, there must be strict adherence to the basic theme of these policies, namely, constantly giving attention to cultivating the personal qualities and skills of cadres while utilizing and promoting them in a correct manner with a view toward meeting the requirements of tasks and enabling cadres to keep abreast of the development of the situation, the tasks of the revolution and the tasks of the army. In the present situation, we must give attention to the living conditions of cadres, promptly meet their basic needs, help reduce the difficulties they face and the concerns that they have about their daily lives and their families so that they are able to focus their minds, will and energies on completing their task.

The resolution of the 5th Congress stated: "Giving attention to building the corps of basic unit cadres is a major policy of the party; the policies and regulations on basic unit cadre benefits must be improved in a manner befitting the importance of the basic units." We must promote policy work regarding basic unit cadres within the army in accordance with this guideline in order to help build an increasingly strong and solid corps of basic unit cadres within the army.

The above are the main elements and measures involved in building the corps of basic unit cadres at this time. They represent only the most general matters that apply to each basic unit cadre. When dealing with a specific type of

cadre, a specific sector, service or branch, these elements and measures must be carefully studied and applied in a manner consistent with each.

In the present situation, building a corps of basic unit cadres that is of sufficient size and of high quality is a very important, very pressing task of all echelons and sectors. The various echelons, especially the division and regimental echelons, must concern themselves with guiding and organizing the performance of this task very well and do so in a spirit of true activism, initiative and urgency because, only by building a solid and strong corps of basic unit cadres can we establish the nucleus for building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect and increase the fighting strength and overall quality of the regiments and military corps, thereby helping to increase the strength of the entire army in the work of defending and building the country in the new stage of the revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. This article primarily deals with the corps of basic cadres on the platoon and company echelons (not with those cadres within basic units that are regiments).

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POPULATION CUSTOMS, AND CULTURE

REASONS WHY YOUTH FLEE RURAL AREAS EXAMINED

Hanoi TIEN PHONG in Vietnamese 26 Jun - 2 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Huy Mau: "What of the Desire to Flee Rural Areas?"]

[Text] What should be said.

Many young friends in Nghe Tinh, Binh Tri Thien, Hai Hung...sent letters to TIEN PHONG: "At present, almost all young men and women in our native land want to 'flee'. They try every way to leave. Those who cannot leave feel discouraged. How can we change this situation?"

Cause for Sadness or Happiness?

Following the address on one letter we came to Vinh Nam village (Ben Hai - Binh Tri Thien). The comrade secretary of the joint chapter of the Ho Phu Cooperative, one of the two cooperatives of Vinh Nam, informed us "Recently the tendency to 'flee' is increasing so that given appropriate conditions, the young childless couples will all leave. How to 'ease them up' is beyond me." Through our conversations with people, we noted that many considered this a very "sad" phenomenon, "a defect of education." The author of another letter also wrote: "We need to make youth understand that if agriculture is poor, industry will fail." But many young people and cadres of the union said: That is a good phenomenon, because in order to develop socialism, our country definitely must mobilize millions of working people, mostly young people, from the "crowded scarce land" to "scarcely populated large land" in order to exploit the land, forest, and sea resources. On the other hand, in the process of industrialization socialism requires that agriculture provide a very large labor force to work sites, mines and enterprises.

It is clear that the aspiration to flee rural areas in order to construct the country is to be praised. It would be sad if, at a certain place, young people dare not leave "the native land" to come to places where the country needs them. We should only blame those who "from this valley look at the other valley," who wish to leave rural areas because of hard labor and look for "easy, comfortable" places. Those with such motivation will certainly be "deceived." Fortunately, there are not

many of these people. And in reality, they are only "victims" of erroneous conceptions on labor that still remain in society, especially encouraged by old people in the family.

More a Cause for Joy

The majority of youth understand this fairly well. In the future, rural areas will increasingly need a young and healthy labor force with level II, level III as well as technical cadres, average-rank management cadres and university graduates. Although they understand it, they still feel uncomfortable. Hong Mao, 21 years old, said: "It is not the difficulties or hardships that we fear, it is the dull life."

At present Vinh Nam has enough to meet its basic needs. But life here is still "empty" culturally. Except for movies (available every month) and public radio, what else is there? Newspapers? Rare. Books? Almost none. There are no cultural or artistic activities, no sports, no physical education, no entertainment. There is no singing during union meetings. Even the training in agricultural techniques, which is much requested by youth, is rarely mentioned in the conditions of product contracts.

Perhaps happily married people do not have much to say about this reality, but for the majority of the young this is a reason for their dissatisfaction, for their desire to "flee."

But can Vinh Nam improve? Comrade Quy, assistant secretary of Ben Hai District affirmed:

Certainly it can. Because close by there is Vinh Trung. Vinh Trung has an artistic group that has won prizes for its characteristic performances in programs organized by the district and the province. The enthusiasm for songs and dances spreads widely in union chapters. Union members, young people all know traditional songs by heart and can perform collective dances. Their songs and dances on the beach during bright moon nights have held many cadres of the provincial and district unions who stopped by this village. Although they do not yet have a fixed locale, every Saturday night the union chapters have club activities. Sessions on "results of democracy" on the traditional theme "Dien Bien, 30 years," evenings presenting costumes, male hairdos, debates on new films, discussions on the work "The Young," last for months making club activities always exciting. As for books, there are only over 1,000 items but they are continuously supplemented and include various subjects. Virtually all union chapters have volleyball courts, single bars and double bars and sand yards for high jump and long jump. The volleyball team has many times been champion in the Ben Hai rural area and has represented the district in competitions organized by the province.

Vinh Trung and Vinh Nam previously had the same committee headquarters. The two villages have naturally gone through the similar traditional

revolution. Three to 4 years ago Vinh Trung was not any better than other villages. To reach its present state and to be able to provide moral satisfaction to its inhabitants, Vinh Trung has had to overcome many difficulties. Using the strength of its youth and part of the profits made by the cooperative, Vinh Trung has managed to make the necessary purchases for improvement. In 1982, the union seized the "opportunity" and sent four members to study and become "leaders" in artistic and sports activities. The bottom line is that, "Vinh Trung has put as much emphasis on culture and sports as on production, considering these as incentives to production."

Who Will Listen?

We can consider the creation of a stimulating environment as a pressing need for the development of new rural areas and a condition for youth's comfort and enthusiasm. However, a fair number of young people in Vinh Trung, Vinh Nam said:

This is still not sufficient. This means that the phenomenon of "youth wanting to flee" has other causes.

The proof is that there are young people who belong to rather wealthy families, they are "talented" artists, good athletes, and they have for many years been devoted union cadres...who still try to flee. These are union members, young men who have finished their general middle school, some returned from military draft, who are full of enthusiasm for the revolution. They are full of expectations and have "daring" projects designed to change the situation and bring rapid progress in the country's road to socialism. They are not satisfied with the "step by step" policy, and they do not have long-term guidelines. But after a period of zeal, they feel that there is no space in their country for their talents and courage." Their ideas are either "rejected" or "not given any attention," they do not even have the opportunity to present them. They feel that youth are only puppets and much dispirited. The treatment of a number of parents toward their children is also a cause. Many are main laborers, working all year round from product contracts to labor chores, but are still tied to a narrow family framework. It is difficult for them to participate in entertaining or sports activities. They have to ask for money if they want to see a movie, a show, or...

The conditions to be met, if youth are to be attached to their work and to the place they live, include understanding, praise, good use of their abilities, respect, promotion of their collective rights and, at the same time, responsiveness to their concerns and needs.

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